

SERMONS

O N

Several Subjects :

V I Z.

- I. The strongest Temptations conquered by the Christians.
- II. The Spirit of Enthusiasm Exorcised.
- III. Of the *Jews* being the peculiar People God.
- IV. The true Notion of Persecution stated.
- V. Of the great Sin of Rebellion.
- VI. Of the Moral Shechinah, or a Discourse of God's Glory.
- VII. A Discourse of the Sovereign Power.
- VIII. Of Alms-giving.
- IX. On King *Charles II's* Restauration.
- X. A Discourse of the due Praise and Honour of the Virgin *Mary*.
- XI. and XII. Universal Obedience to the Divine Will, the only proper Means of obtaining God's Favour.
- XIII. Earnestness in contending for the Faith recommended.
- XIV. and XV. The true Notion of Justification ; wherein is shewn what Sort of Faith it is that will pass for Righteousness in the Sight of God, and will be accepted by him.
- XVI. The Nature, Excellence, and Dignity of Man.
- XVII. The great Blessing of a Naval Power, &c.

By the late Reverend GEORGE HICKES, D. D.

L O N D O N: Printed for A. C. and Sold by
W. TAYLOR at the Ship in Pater-Noster-Row.

SERMONS

Seventh Sermon

W. E.



XVII. The great Blessing of a Man's Power, &c.
Man.
XVI. The Nature, Excellence, and Dignity of
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wherein is shown what is of him, is that
XIV. and XV. The true Notion of Justification
commended.
XIII. Faithfulness in serving for the Faith re-
laxant.
XII. the only proper Means of obtaining God's
Mend XII. United Objections to the Divine
the Virgin Mary.

XI. A Discourse of the Honour and Honour of
the King of Kings.

X. A Discourse of the Honour and Honour of
the King of Kings.

IX. A Discourse of the Honour and Honour of
the King of Kings.

VIII. A Discourse of the Honour and Honour of
the King of Kings.

By the late Reverend George Hickes, D.D.
LONDON: Printed for A. C. and Sold by
W. Taylor at the Ship in the North-River

To the Honourable and Reverend
Dr. John Mountague,
THE
D E A N,
And to the Reverend the
PREBENDARIES
Of the Cathedral and Collegiate
Church of DURHAM.

Reverend Sirs,

AS Divines by their Profession are the most competent and proper Judges of Discourses upon Subjects in Divinity; so I think a Collection of Sermons cannot more fitly be inscribed than to a Learned College of Divines, such as yours truly is; and therefore, when I consider'd to what Society of that Denomination I should choose to dedicate these Two Volumes, many Reasons induced me to present them with Preference, and all Respect, to you.

2 2

For

The DEDICATION.

For First, There have been many, and now are (a) Two very worthy Persons, who were Fellows of *Lincoln College*, of which I also had the Happiness to be a Fellow, that are Members of Your Venerable Body, (b) one of which also, with (c) Two others, who are no less Ornaments to it, were my Scholars in the same College; and these endearing Relations, which are generally attended with particular Friendships, was one Reason which made me have a particular Regard to the Sodality of *St. Cuthbert*, where there have been, and still are so many Members, to whom I was, or am related as a Tutor or Colleague.

But while I am speaking of those Members of Your Society, who were my Pupils or Colleagues, I should deserve Your just Censure, if I did not also mention Your Right Reverend Bishop, with all the Respect that is due both to his Sacred Character, as a Bishop of the Church, and his Civil Titles, as a Prince Palatine and Peer of the Realm, who to his everlasting Honour hath always filled your Society with so many Excellent Men, who have been a Credit to his Church, and upon this Occasion also I should not be just, if I did not acknowledge, that by the good Providence of God,

(a) *Dr. John Moreton, and Dr. Fitcherbert Adams.*

(b) *The same Dr. Adams.*

(c) *Sir George Wheeler, D. D. and Dr. Hartwell.*

which

The DEDICATION.

which hath attended me all my Life long, it was to his Lordship's special Favour, as well as to that of the *Rector*, and the rest of the Fellows of that Time, that I owed my Election into the College, for the Continual Encrease and Prosperity of which, and of the University of *Oxford*, I think my self obliged, as a former Member of both, to pray.

Another Reason which moved me to dedicate my Sermons to you, was to testifie my Gratitude in the best manner I could, for the very great Assistance you gave me in publishing my Two Books of the old *Septentrional Languages and Learning*; and I cannot forbear to say for Your Honour, that had I had a few more such Benefactors as You to encourage me in my Undertaking, I had attempted to add some useful *English Saxon* Tracts in a *Third Book*, which for want of Help and Supply I was forced to omit. I have mentioned those Tracts, and could only mention them, in my Epistolary Dissertation to the late Sir *Bartholomew Shower* of Honourable Memory, who as he was very sensible how serviceable the *Septentrional* Learning is to the Profession of which he was a great Ornament; so he was also a great Benefactor to my Work. But tho' for want of farther Encouragement I could not carry on any one of those Designs, yet it is no small Pleasure to me to see Two of the most considerable of them attempted with so much Success, by Two private and very modest
a 3
Persons,

The DEDICATION.

Persons, I mean the Reverend Mr. *William Elstob*, Rector of *St. Swithin's London*, and his Sister Mrs. *Elizabeth Elstob*; the former of whom hath well nigh prepared for the Press a most learned, useful and valuable Edition of all the *Saxon* Laws both in Print and MS. and the latter with incredible Industry hath finished a *Saxon HOMILARIUM*, or a Collection of the *English Saxon* Homilies of *Alfric* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, which she hath translated, and adorned with Learned and useful Notes, and for printing of which she hath published Proposals; and I cannot but wish, that for her own sake, as well as for the Advancement of the *Septentrional* Learning, and for the Honour of our *English Saxon* Ancestors, the Service of the Church of *England*, the Credit of our Country, and the Honour of her Sex, that Learned and most Studious Gentlewoman may find such Encouragement as she and her great Undertaking deserve.

It is also no less Pleasure and Comfort to me, as in Truth it is a great Credit to the College of *St. Cuthbert's Priests*, that (*d*) one of them, to his other great Attainments in Human and Divine Learning, hath added the perfect Knowledge of the *Septentrional* Literature, which hath made him the fittest and most able Person in the World to oblige it with a new and most improved and accomplished Edition of *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, both in the Venerable

(*d*) Dr. John Smith.

Father's

The DEDICATION.

Father's *Latin*, and in King *Alfred's Saxon* Version, with ancient MSS. together with all his other Historical Works, in one Volume, with Variety of remarkable Readings, and brief, but Learned and Useful Notes: At the end of the Book will be added his Life and Character, by several Hands, with curious Remarks, &c. and the whole, to which proper Indexes are fitted, and a Map of the Countries described in the Book, will make a great and most noble, as well as a most useful and delightful Work, for which both the present and future Ages will for ever mention his Name with Gratitude and Honour.

While I am mentioning this Learned Member of your Society, I cannot forget his Learned Correspondent at Oxford, Mr. *Edward Thwaites*, late Fellow of *Queen's College*, and Professor of the *Greek* Tongue in the University of Oxford, who besides his accurate Skill in the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues, as his Editions of *Dionysius Longinus*, and of *Ephraim Syrus* shews, made himself perfect Master of the ancient *Septentrional* Languages, and who not only supervised my Two Books of those Languages for Seven Years together, while they were printing at the *Theatre* in Oxford, but gave the World the *Saxon Heptateuch*, with King *Alfred's* Preface, in a most correct and beautiful Edition, and encouraged *Christopher Rawlinson*, Esquire, a Gentleman of the College, to publish King *Alfred's Saxon* Version of *Boethius de Consolatione Philosophiæ*, and a little

The DEDICATION.

before he died he published a short Critical *Grammar*, entituled, *Grammatica Anglo-Saxonica, ex Hickefiano Linguarum Septentrionalium Thesauro Excerpta*, which I am bold to say is as accurate, just, and exact a Grammatical Critick, as perhaps ever was made upon any Language whatsoever; and I can scarce without Tears reflect that he was taken so soon from the World, and that there is none now I hear of in that famous University, who after his Example study the *Septentrional* Learning, which he did with so great Success. But I hope some of the worthy Heads of Colleges, who are Encouragers of all sorts of useful Learning, will by due Encouragements oblige some of their Ingenious Scholars to study that sort of Learning, which were it in my Power, I am not ashamed to say I would certainly do.

It is now, *Sirs*, Five and Twenty Years since an Honourable Lady really intended to found a Lecture for the *Saxon* and *Gothick* Languages, either in the University of *Oxford*, or some College thereof, upon my representing to her how the study of those Tongues would be serviceable to all the Interests of the Church, as in other Respects, so more-especially in her Controversies with the Church of *Rome*; but alas! she was most unhappily prevented by an unforeseen and fatal Accident, which obliged her to put the Money she designed for that noble Purpose, to another charitable Use. But I hope the good Providence of God will raise
up

The DEDICATION.

up some other Benefactor to do that which this good Lady intended for the Advancement of the ancient *Northern* Tongues, which have obtained so much Credit in the World, as to have the same Privilege, by a late Act of Parliament granted unto Books printed in them, as to those which are printed in *Latin*, *Greek*, and *Hebrew*, and the Learned Men of *Germany* are so awakened by what hath been done here for the Advancement of those Languages, that they are now busie in searching out and printing their old *Teutonic* Manuscripts, as I have been assured by Dr. *John George Eccard* the Learned History Professor in the University of *Helmstad*, in a Letter which he lately sent to me. Not to mention what others are doing, this Learned Antiquary hath written an *Etymologicon* of the *German* Language, which he published at *Hannover* 1711. in which he hath shewed his great Skill in the Modern *Belgick*, *Frisic*, and *Norwegian*, as well as in the ancient *Saxon*, *Francick*, and *Gothick* Tongues. He is also Writing a Book of the Original and Antiquity of the *German* Tongue, in order to which he hath travelled to many Countries remote from his own, and particularly to those where the *Sclavonian* Tongue and its Dialect are spoken, in which he observed very many *Teutonic* Words to be still preserved. He is also endeavouring to explain the *Salick Law*, and all the obscure Words of it from the *Teutonic* Originals, and he hath lately published an ancient *Teutonic* Catechism of the Ninth Century, to which

The DEDICATION.

which he will add another made by *Notker Balbulus*, formerly Dean of *St. Gall*, with an ancient *Teutonick* Paraphrase of the *Psalter*, the Original of which is in the *Cæsarean Library* at *Vienna*. He intends likewise to publish a Collection of above Twenty ancient *German* Writers, and he saith that he hath an authentick Copy of *Willeram's Francic* Canticles, by the help of which he can easily put out a more correct and perfect Edition of that Book. In the same Letter he tells me of many more Learned Men, who are labouring in the *Teutonick* Antiquities, of whose *Works*, I forbear, *Sirs*, to give you an account here, because it would require a little *Bibliotheque* to describe them, as the Dignity of their several Subjects in Justice would require me to do.

A Third Reason, *Sirs*, which invites me to present these Sermons to your Acceptance, is the favourable Reception you have given to the several Books which I lately have had Occasion to write. You have done me the Honour to allow them Places in your noble Library, for which, as for all your other great Obligations, I am glad of this Opportunity to give you publick Thanks, beseeching Almighty God so to bless your Society, that it may always flourish and abound with such a worthy Head and Members, as are not only good and great Men, but Promoters of good Learning, and an Ornament both to your own and the whole *English* Church. This, Reverend *Sirs*, is and ought to be the hearty constant Prayer of

Your most Obliged and Faithful Servant,
GEORGE HICKES.

T O T H E

R E A D E R.

I*T is too well known to what Degree the Learned and Reverend Author of the following Sermons has impaired his Health by his assiduous and indefatigable Studies, how far he has broken his Constitution for the Benefit of others, and in what Expectation he has sometimes been of his approaching Change. In one of these dangerous Fits it was, that I seasonably applied to him for the Publication of some of those Manuscript Sermons, he could now make no other Use of. And as his ordinary Condescension is such, as not to deny a reasonable Favour to any, and his Kindness to my self might justly encourage me to hope for his Granting so proper a Request, I had the good Fortune to succeed accordingly. And I think my self peculiarly happy, in having been the Instrument of retrieving from the Flames so valuable a Treasure, as all who shall attentively read and consider the following Discourses must necessarily acknowledge them to be. I cannot but heartily wish they had had his last Hand put to them, and such Improvement thereby made of them, as would certainly have been, had his unhappy Want of Health permitted. But since it has pleased God in his infinite Wisdom to prevent this, his blessed Will be done. As they are, it must be*
owned,

TO the READER.

owned, that they will be equalled by very few, but exceeded by none of those many admirable Sermons this fertile Age has produced. Here are some of them at present offered to the perusal of well-disposed and Religious Readers, as others also in Time may, and I promise my self will be. Nor have I only preserved These, but have given occasion also for Reprinting those others, which had done so much good formerly, and it is to be hoped will do the same by this new Impression. And that all of them may have this Effect, is the hearty Prayer of

June 2th. 1713.

Thy Servant in our
Common Master,

N. SPINCKES.

THE

THE
CONTENTS of this VOLUME.

S E R M. I.

The Strongest Temptations Conquerable by
Christians.

I Cor. X. **T** Here hath no Temptation taken
v. 13. you, but such as is common to
Man; but God is faithful, who will not suffer
you to be tempted above that ye are able; but
will with the Temptation also make a way to
escape, that ye may be able to bear it.

S E R M. II.

The Spirit of Enthusiasm Exorcised.

I Cor. XII. v. 4. Now there are Diversities of
Gifts, but the same Spirit.

S E R M. III.

Peculium Dei.

Rom. IX. v. 4, 5. Who are Israelites, to whom
pertaineth the Adoption, and the Glory, and
the Covenant, and the giving of the Law, and
the Service of God, and the Promises; whose
are the Fathers, and of whom, as concerning
the Flesh, Christ came.

S E R M. IV.

The True Notion of Persecution Stated.

Cor. IV. v. 9. Persecuted, but not forsaken;
cast down, but not destroyed.

SERM.

The CONTENTS.

SERM. V.

A Sermon Preached before the Lord-Mayor,
January 30th.

Acts XVII. v. 7. *And these do all contrary to
the Decrees of Cæsar, saying, That there is
another King, one Jesus.*

SERM. VI.

The Moral Shechinah.

1 Cor. X. v. 32. *Whether therefore ye eat or drink,
or whatsoever ye do, do all to the Glory of God.*

SERM. VII.

A Discourse about the Sovereign Power.

Rom. XIII. v. 4. *He beareth not the Sword in
vain; for he is the Minister of God.*

SERM. VIII.

A Sermon Preached on *Easter-Tuesday, 1684.*

Heb. XIII. v. 16. *But to do good, and to commu-
nicate, forget not; for with such Sacrifices God
is well pleased.*

ERRATA.

PAGE 5. l. 5. r. בלדור. p. 13. l. 26. r. Psychici. p. 59
l. 13. r. Hardieffe. p. 62. l. ult. r. טשרחון. p. 79
l. 29. r. τφ. p. 81. l. 29. r. ἑμσχοπας. p. 87. l. 19. del
for. p. 147. l. 30. r. ἑμσχοπας. p. 168. l. 3. r. ὑπερχηται
p. 172. l. 9. r. Law-Terms. p. 184. l. 3. r. make. p. 224
l. ult. r. à Patribus. p. 236. l. ult. r. ab Euseb. p. 237. l. 2
r. Ἀπεδω. p. 241. l. pen. r. Origin. p. 244. l. 27. r. ill
p. 248. l. 33. r. Whittingham. p. 297. l. 10. r. So th
p. 310. l. 11. r. μεσφισω, 𐤌𐤓

A
DISCOURSE
TO PROVE
That the strongest TEMPTATIONS
are Conquerable by

CHRISTIANS:

O R, A
Sober DEFENCE of NATURE and GRACE,
against the Cavils, and Excuses of loose in-
considerate Men.

I N A
S E R M O N

Preach'd before the
Right Honourable the LORD MAYOR
of *London*, and Court of ALDERMEN,
the 14th of *January*, 167⁶/₇.

By GEORGE HICKES, B. D.

*I can do all things through Christ, that strengtheneth
me, Phil. 4. 13.*

*Ye are of God, little Children, and have overcome
them, because greater is he that is in you, than he
that is in the World, 1 Joh. 4. 4.*

The Third Edition.

L O N D O N :

Printed for JOHN CHURCHILL, at the Black
Swan in Pater-Noster-Row, 1713.

DAVIES MAYOR.

*Martis xxiiij. die Januarii, 1676. Annoq; Regni
Regis CAROLI secundi, Angliæ, &c. xxviij.*

THIS COURT doth desire Mr. *Hickes* to
Print his SERMON lately Preach'd
at the *Guild-Hall* Chappel, before the Lord
Mayor and Aldermen of this City.

Wagstaffe.



IMPRIMATUR,

*Guil. Fane, R. P. D.
Hen. Episc. Lond. &
Sacris dom.*

Feb. 16. 1676.

To the Right Honourable
Sir THOMAS DAVIES,
Lord Mayor of L O N D O N,
A N D
The Court of ALDERMEN.

MY LORD,

I Have a singular veneration for your Lordship, and the Court, which makes me submit my Judgment to yours, and publish this Discourse, to comply with your joint Request, which I think as obliging as any Command. Your Authority, more than all the Interest I have in it, will recommend it to the World, and if it be but read with much satisfaction, as your Honours heard it, it will answer the Ends of its Publication, and prove as useful, as it is suitable to the Necessities of the Age. 'Tis a sad thing to consider, that there should be an occasion for such a Discourse as this, and nothing reflects more Dishonour upon the Gospel, or more grieves and disheartens the Ministers thereof, than to see themselves constrain'd by Mens extravagant Opinions, to
A 2 Preach

The Epistle DEDICATORY.

Preach up those Truths, they ought to presuppose. But so, MY LORD, it is, that Mens Errors and Vices give us subjects for Sermons, as they sometimes give our Law-givers matter for their Laws, and particularly Scepticism, which is nothing but Infidelity in several dresses and degrees, so possesses the Minds of Men, that instead of Preaching up Practical Divinity, we are often constrain'd to insist upon Doctrinal Points. Instead of persuading Men to the Love of God, we are fain now and then to prove that he is; instead of urging them to have a care of their Souls, we are forc'd to prove, that their Souls are Beings worthy of their care; and instead of pressing them to resist all manner of Temptations, and pray for the Grace of God, we sometimes find it needful, first to convince them, that they have power to resist them, and that his Grace is a real thing. This bitter root of unbelief is the Reason, why the Gospel hath no better Success in the World, and one of the true Causes, why so many Men have a secret ill will for the Ministers of it, because they are an Order of Men set aside to maintain the everlasting Truths of God, and oppose themselves

The Epistle DEDICATORY.

selves to those impious Opinions, by which they are willing to damn their Souls. But were other Men, MY LORD, as Orthodox, and understood their Religion as well as you, there would be no occasions for such Discourses as this, but we should wholly set our selves to press home upon Mens Consciences the practical Duties of Religion, and by that means make the Preaching part of Divinity more delightful to our selves, and much more profitable to the Church of God. We should not then complain so much of the unsuccessfulness of our Labours, but see more of the travail of our Souls, when the work of our Lord did prosper in our Hands.

But whether we Preach Practically, or whether we Preach about Speculative Truths, we do the Work of him that sent us; by the former, we reform Mens Vices; by the latter, we confute their Errors; by both we keep their Consciences awake, and make it impossible for them to live without remorse, or die in their Sins without fear. So that the Ministerial Function, were it meerly Humane, must needs be confessed to be an excellent Institution, and its greatest Enemies cannot but acknow-

The Epistle DEDICATORY.

ledge, that the Pulpit conduces as much as the Bench, to preserve Civil Order, and restrain the exorbitant Passions of Men. In particular, My Lord, were it not for us, this populous City, which is now so happy in your Government, would be far more Wicked than it is, and both your Honour, and all other Ministers of Criminal Justice, would have much more Employment for their Axes and Rods. As for you, My Lord, your Honour, by your diligent and impartial Administration of Justice hath testified to the World, that you bear not the Sword in vain. For ever since it was put into your Hands, you have severely Punished Vice, and reform'd more Disorders, and disorderly Persons, than I have Opportunity here to relate. The World sees, and the City feels the Effects of your good Government: Good Men Honour you, bad Men Fear you, God will bless you, and Posterity will mention your Name with Praise. In particular, none Honours you more for your private and political Vertues, than,

My Lord,

Your Lordships most humble Servant,

GEORGE HICKES.

I COR. X. xiii.

There hath no Temptation taken you, but such as is common to Man: but God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that ye are able; but will with the Temptation also make a Way to escape, that you may be able to bear it.

ALthough the Substance of that Baptismal Oath of Allegiance, which every *Christian* takes at his entrance into Covenant with God, be, to renounce the World, the Flesh, and the Devil; and altho' this solemn Obligation be laid by God and the Church upon the Conscience of every *Christian*, to make him more vigilant, and resolute in resisting the Temptations which the World without, the Flesh within, or the Devil can both ways present unto him: Yet to the scandal both of our Nature and Religion, there have often been, and now are in the Church of God, a sort of licentious, perjur'd *Christians*, who taking a pride to aggravate the weakness of Humane Nature, and undervalue the Power of God's assisting Grace, represent it as impossible for Flesh and Blood to overcome the Pleasures of some, and the Terrors of other Temptations; and so make Religion it self, which is nothing, but the practice of resisting Pain and Pleasure out of love

to God, an idle Romantick Notion, and in effect, renounce their Baptismal Vow.

But to the lewd Pretensions, and Authority of these most insolent Men, my Text is an apparent contradiction, and reproof; wherein the Apostle assures the suffering *Corinthians*; that, as among all the sharp Trials and Persecutions they had undergone for Religion, none had happen'd to them, but such as were *ἐνδεσμίως*, proportionable to the Nature of Man, or such as others before them had endured: So for the future he likewise assures them, that God, who was faithful to his Promises, would not suffer them to be tempted above their Strength; but upon the due Exercise of their patience and courage in resisting, would make a way for them to escape in all their Trials, and give them sufficient supplies of his Grace to support and overcome the Violence thereof.

There hath no Temptation taken you, (saith he) but such as is tolerable, or common to Man, for God is faithful, who will not, &c.

This is the true and obvious meaning of these words; and therefore by good analogy both of Faith and Reason, we may conclude, that God, who is acquainted with the Infirmities of our Nature, and knows whereof we are made, better than we our selves, takes the same care of us in all other Trials, and Temptations, as the Apostle here assures us he doth in *persecutions*; which are in this and many other

other Places of the Gospel emphatically called *Temptations*, because that of all the Trials which Men can undergo for the sake of God and Religion, those terrible Pains and Sufferings wherein Persecutions consist, are by far most difficult to be withstood by feeble Flesh and Blood.

But what need is there of proving so great a Truth by consequence and analogy, when the Promise of the Spirit, (that assistant form of *Christians*,) is the most general promise of the Gospel, and one of the principal Terms upon which we are encouraged to enter into Covenant with God? For we bind our selves by our Sacramental Oaths, to resist such Temptations as unassisted Humane Nature is not able to resist, because we are assur'd from the beginning to the end of the New Testament, *That God will give his Spirit to them that sincerely ask it, that the Graces of it are sufficient for us, that he will perfect his Strength in Humane Weakness, and that he will make us more than conquerors in all Temptations, and find out a way by which we shall escape.* A considerable part of the Gospel consists in such like promises of receiving sufficient assistance from God; and indeed it had been inconsistent with his Wisdom and Goodness, as he is the Author of the Covenant of *Grace*, to require us to swear resistance against such Temptations, as depraved Humane Nature is not able to withstand, unless withal he would have given us current Supplies

Supplies of supernatural Strength, sufficient to support us in them, and enable us to perform what he doth exact.

This then being certain, that God stands bound in his Gospel to take special care to assist us in all Temptations, and grant us sufficient Supplies of his Grace, I proceed to prove the Apostles Consequence, That no Temptations how violent soever, are irresistible by *Christians*, or that no Temptation or Trial hath happen'd, or ever shall happen by God's Permission unto any Person in Covenant with him, but such as is suitable to the Powers of Humane Nature strengthened by Grace, and such as a reasonable considerate Man, who duly uses and improves the present Assistance of God, may not easily conquer and subdue.

This Assertion I shall prove two ways; First, by *authority* or *precedent*; and Secondly, by *reason*.

First, by *authority*, taken from the Practice and Examples of wise and sober Men in all Ages, who have resisted the strongest, and overcome the most difficult Temptations for the sake of God; and therefore those traiterous sort of *Christians*, who being false to their own Profession, love to misrepresent the Cause of Virtue and Religion as desperate and indefensible, contradict the Experiences of Ages, and belye the Records both of God and Man.

I shall but instance in Three or Four of the most violent Temptations, which the Devils

vils and their cursed Agents use as the strongest Battery to subdue the Souls of the bravest Men.

The first whereof, is the fear of *Death*, which *Bildad* in *Job*, calls מלך בלהוה the King of Consternations, or Terrors; and yet as terrible as are the Approaches of this King of Terrors, the brave Adventures of those gallant *Heathens*, who have met him with all his Train of Terrors, without Astonishment and Fear, and sacrific'd their Lives for their Country and Friends: These generous Souls, I say, who could scarce die for higher Ends, infallibly shew, that 'tis so far from being impossible, that 'tis neither strange, nor difficult as they would make it, for Humane Nature, to overcome the fear of Death.

But then, if we consult the Records of the Church, we shall find the supream Motives of Religion to have made Cowards, and common People Valiant, and that the Spirit of God, which the *Jewish* Writers call the Spirit of Might, hath so fortify'd the Courage of the weaker Age and Sex, as to make them die with more Resolution, than the Worthies of *Greece* and *Rome*.

Of this we have Examples, 2 *Macc.* c. 6. where we read of *Jewish* Women, who for refusing to comply with the *Gentile* Customs, in partaking of their Sacrifices, were cast down headlong from the Walls of the City, with their Babes hanging at their Breast. Others who

who had hid themselves in Caves, being discovered, were all burnt together, because they would not dishonour their God. And at one of their Sacrifices, *Eleazar* a Principal Scribe, who was an Aged Man, and of a venerable Countenance, had his Mouth opened by force, and Swine's Flesh put into it; but he choosing rather to die a glorious Martyr, than to live stained with such an Abomination, spit it forth, and then went voluntarily to the Torture. But they that had the Charge of that wicked Sacrificial Feast, being his old Acquaintance, took him aside, and besought him to bring his own Provision, and make as if he did eat of the Flesh taken from the Sacrifice, that so doing he might save himself. But he acting, as the Historian observes, as became his Age, the Excellency of his ancient Years, Honour of his gray Head, his Honourable and Religious Education from a Child, and the Holy Law of God, answered accordingly, and bid them straightway send him to the Grave.

‘ For, *saith he*, it becometh not our Age in
‘ anywise to dissemble, whereby many young
‘ Persons might think that *Eleazar* being Four-
‘ score and ten Years old, were now gone to
‘ a strange Religion, and so they, through
‘ mine Hypocrisie, and desire to live a little
‘ time longer, should be deceived by me, and
‘ I get a Blemish to my old Age, and make
‘ it abominable. For though for the present
‘ Time I should be delivered from the Punish-
‘ ment

ment of Men, yet I should not escape the Hand of the Almighty, neither alive nor dead. Wherefore now resolutely changing this Life, I will shew my self such an one as my Age and Character requireth, and leave a remarkable Example to such as be young, to die willingly and courageously, for the Honourable and Holy Laws: And when he had said these Words, immediately he went to the Torment. And when he was ready to die with Stripes, he groaned and said, 'It is manifest unto the Lord, that hath the Holy Knowledge, that whereas I might have been delivered from Death, I now endure sore Pains in Body, by being beaten; but in Soul am well content to suffer these Things, because I fear him'. And then, saith the Historian, *Thus this Man died, leaving his Death for an Example of a noble Courage, and a Memorial of Vertue, not only to young Men, but unto all his Nation.*

The Time would fail, as the Author to the *Hebrews* speaks, in telling of *those that were ston'd, sawn asunder, (a) empaled, and slain with the Sword.* And the *Jewish* and *Christian* Martyrologies; the bloody Kalendars of the *Greek* and *Latin* Churches; the Histories of the Persecutions of the *Jews* by the *Heathens*, of the *Christians* by them both, and of

(a) *Vid. Animadversiones honorabilis & doctiss. Nort. Knatchbulli, equ. aur. in Ep. ad Hebr. c. 12. 37.*

the former and latter Reformers by the Papal See, from the time of the *Waldenses*, to this last Age, are so many standing Acts and Monuments to prove, that no trials can happen to Men, but what Humane Nature is able to bear, and particularly that Death in all his array of Terrors is no such insuperable Consideration, when it stands in Competition with our Duty to God.

The *Christians* of *Bithynia* and *Pontus*, in the Time of *Trajan*, behav'd themselves with such Resolution and Assurance at the *Heathen* Tribunals, that his Procurator, and their Judge *Pliny*, mistook their Constancy and Perseverance for Stubbornness of Opinion, or a certain Superstitious Obstinacy of Mind. And afterwards in the *Tenth Persecution*, they so little regarded their Lives, that they threw them away, and offered unnecessary Affronts to the *Heathen* Gods, that so they might be sure to die *Martyrs* in the Fact, and have the Honour to Seal the Truth with their Blood. Insomuch that the Wise Council of (a) *Eliberis* was fain to make a Decree to correct such unwarrantable and almost riotous Zeal, and make them less prodigal of their Blood. But both they, and the more Primitive *Christians* of other Countries, would have dy'd had it been possible, a Thousand Times, ra

(a) *Ex Concil. Elib. anno 305. si quis idola frugerit, & ibidem fuerit occisus, placuit in numerum eum non recipi Martyrum.*

ther than drop a Grain of Incense, or bow before an Idol, or do any other significant Action, which Custom had made a Sign of denying Christ. The several Acts of Martyrdom, and Exhortations thereunto, still upon Record in the ancient Christian Writers, are full Authority for the proof of my Doctrine.

And since the Corruption of the *Latin* Church, the noble Army of Reformed Martyrs in these *Western* Parts of the World, have chosen to meet the King of Terrors in his most terrible Appearance, I mean in the dreadful Inquisition, and endure the most painful Sorts of Death, rather than Worship a Cake of Bread, invoke their Fellow-Creatures, admit any Advocate in Heaven but Jesus, or confess any Doctrines to be Doctrines of Faith, which were not so much as known to the Catholick Church of old, and which are as contrary to the Scriptures of the *New Testament*, as *Legends* are to true Histories, or Darkness to Light. But were there no other Histories extant, but what are in the *Bible*, the Number of the Saints recorded there, that have embraced the most bitter Ignominious Deaths, and despised the Torments and Shame thereof, are more than enough to prove, that there is no Temptation so dreadful, but what may be born by Man, and that 'tis neither impossible, nor so exceeding difficult for *Christians* to conquer the Fear of Death, as the profane and
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sensual part of the World, to the dishonour of our Religion, pretend it to be.

The second Instance, under which I shall bring Examples to prove, That no Temptation is irresistible, shall be taken from the most sensual Sin of Uncleaness, a Sin which the animal World is so apt to excuse, and pretend a kind of Necessity to commit, because it is so natural to Flesh and Blood. And yet as natural and Hereditary as the Advocates of Uncleaness represent it to be, 'tis so far from being an irresistible Temptation, that *Joseph* resisted the frequent Importunities of his own Lady or Mistress, although besides the Quality and Beauty of her Person, and the Danger of denying, his own Youth, and all other Circumstances concurr'd to make him consent and yield. And were the dread of the Majesty of the Pure and Holy God, impress'd upon the Heart of the most lustful among Men, but half as deep as it was upon his, that Grace alone would be sufficient to check his sinful Propensions, and make him cry out as he did in the critical Moment of Tryal, *How shall I do this damnable Act, and sin against my God?*

But lest you should object that *Joseph* was an extraordinary Person, and had more than common Assistance from God; let us suppose the most ordinary unexperienc'd *Christian*, surrounded with the strongest Temptations imaginable, to commit this which they call
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natural, and therefore concluded an unconquerable Sin ; Let us suppose him to have the most charming Beauty to entice him, together with Opportunity, and all other Circumstances to heighen the Temptation, and make it as outrageous as it can be imagin'd to be ; yet for all this, if this Man should say that he were not able to resist this violent Temptation, he would lye against his Conscience, and contradict the universal Experience of the World. For if at that Instant God should say unto him as unto the *rich Man* in the Gospel, *Thou Fool, this Night thy Soul shall be required of thee* ; That dreadful Summons to appear so soon in the next World, would certainly make this mighty Temptation become none at all, and presently drive out that unclean Spirit of Lust which posselt his Soul before. But much more, if at the same Time should come forth the Fingers of a Man's Hand, and write upon the Wall, *Mene, Mene, Tekel Upharzin*, Do this, and thou shalt be immediately *damned* ; I desire any one of you to Answer in his Heart for this Man, what you think he would do : You cannot but confess, that his Amorous Intentions and Countenance would be chang'd, his jovial Thoughts troubled, his Joints loos'd, and his Knees like King *Belshazzar's*, knock one against another. Or lastly, Let us suppose at the same Instant, that an unexpected Message should come from his Prince, threatening the Gibbet, or the Ax, if

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he proceeded to gratifie his sinful Desires; such a terrible Message would undoubtedly be sufficient to extinguish his impure Flames, and restrain him from the Sin he intended to commit. Or not to take the Advantage of such frightful Enemies to his *Pleasure*, as Damnation or Death, let us rather suppose, That a Grave and Reverend Person, should unexpectedly come into the Room before he proceeded to execute his raging Lust; certainly instead of finding it impossible to resist the Damnable Sin, he would find it impossible for him to commit it in such a venerable Presence, unless he had made an utter Shipwrack both of his Conscience and Honour, and were become as brutal, and shameless as a Beast. Or, let us suppose that a mighty Reward, imagine a Kingdom, or some vast Sum of Money were offer'd him upon Condition he would resist this pretended irresistible Temptation, what do you think would be the Event? You must needs confess he would find Strength and Resolution enough to overcome the unconquerable Temptation upon these Terms, and be glad to be hired by such a Reward, to abstain from his Damnable Lust. And therefore, if all this be true, Why should not the remembrance of our own Mortality as effectually mortifie our Lusts, and keep us from daring to commit a presumptuous Sin, as if God himself should tell us we should in the instant die? Why should not the Consideration of
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Eternal Torments threatned in the Gospel, be as perswasive against Sin, as the Consideration of them written by a *Spirit* upon a Wall? Or, why should not the Message of Eternal Death which we deliver from God, prevail as much upon Men, as the Message of temporal Death from a King? Lastly, why should not the presence of the Omnipresent God overawe Men more than the presence of a Man? Or, why should not the Infallible Promise of Heaven and Infinite Happiness, be a more powerful Motive to Self-denial, than the Promise of a Kingdom, or the greatest Preferment, or Treasure here below.

The shameful inconsideration, stupidity, and carnality of Mens Hearts, is the Cause why Temporal Expectations and Proposals have more force upon their Souls, than the Hopes of Eternal Glory; and that present or approaching sensible Pain or Loss, fills their earthly Minds with more dreadful Apprehensions, than the prospect of Infinite Misery to come.

But to conclude this Instance with a more familiar Argument; If the Temptations to this Sin be so very difficult to be resisted, as our *Physici*, or Debauchees pretend it is, how comes it to pass, that careful and religious Parents suffer their Children to Sojourn in *Mesech*, and dwell in the Tents of *Kedar*, I mean to go abroad and converse in this wicked World? How dare they expose their Souls, which they tender next to their own, to such

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certain Dangers in an Adulterous Generation, if to deny ones self, and resist the Temptations of the *Flesh* be either impossible, or next to impossible, as the profane Discourses of the unclean Spirits in this licentious Age upon all Occasions represent it to be?

My third Instance to prove how capable the nature of Man, by God's Grace, is to resist or overcome the most dangerous Temptations, shall be taken from a Temptation to commit some Sin upon a certain proposal of gaining, or losing a *Crown*. Among all the Trials or Temptations the World, the Devil, or our Hearts can present unto us, none can be more powerful or unconquerable than this: For a *Crown* is the highest secular Interest, the Possession of it is both Government and Riches, and by Consequence, the hopes of getting, or fear of losing that supreme Degree of Temporal Happiness, which consists in the Enjoyment of it, must at least to covetous, and ambitious Souls, be the strongest inducement that can be to Sin. Of this we have many Examples in sacred and profane; in ancient and modern, in our own and foreign Histories. And yet as powerful as this Motive is, *Moses*, who might have passed for the Son of *Pharaoh's* Daughter, and by consequence, have been Heir presumptive to his Crown, when he came to Years, (as the Author to the *Hebrews* writes) rather than renounce the Covenant, which his Ancestors made with God,

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Excommunicate himself from his visible Church, and forsake his Brethren, though the persecuted People of God, refused to be call'd, that is, to be the Son of that August Princess, and expect the most glorious Kingdom of his Time. And not to ransack Foreign Histories, or multiply Examples in this short Discourse, our late blessed Sovereign King *Charles* the Martyr, whom God was pleased to make perfect through sufferings, and reserve for these latter Times, as the most glorious Monument of *Christian* Courage that ever was in the World: That incomparable Prince and *Christian*, rather than Rob God, prostitute his Royal Honour, justify Sacrilege and Rebellion by Law, and Perjure his Righteous Soul, by accepting those Sinful Conditions the Rebels proposed; after many other unparallel'd sufferings, chose to Sacrifice his Blood to his Conscience, and secure his Innocence by the loss of his Triple Crown.

My last Instance to prove how capable Humane Nature in a *Christian* is to resist Temptations, shall be taken from the natural Desire of *Revenge*, which of all other sinful Affections, but Pride and Self-love, from whence it proceeds, discovers it self most early in Man: For with how much impatience and eagerness will even little Children strive to be revenged? How quickly will they resent, and how long remember injuries; and how will Malice, as it were, possess their little Souls; and Anger,

the actual Exercise of that Malice, swell their Hearts and Eyes? And how natural this Sin is to the corrupt Constitution of Man, and how proper it is to some particular Complexions and Tempers; the *Brawls, Curses, Duels, Factions, Slanders, Libels, Murthers, Schisms, and Rebellions*, which happen in all Societies of Men, are most sad deplorable Proofs. And yet if any Man deny that it is possible to mortifie this damnable Passion of Revenge, wherein *the Image of the Devil* so much consists, he Libels the *Christian* Religion, and injures the Reputation and Authority of the Gospel, which teacheth Men to *forgive and love their enemies, to bless them that curse us, and to do good to them that hate us, and despitefully use us*. This Doctrine is proper to the *Christian* above all the Religions in the World; God hath made it the very Condition upon which he'll accept our Oblations, and grant us Pardon for our Sins; and *therefore if thou bring thy gift before the Altar, and there remembrest that thy Brother hath ought against thee, leave thy Gift there, and go thy way, thou must first be reconciled to thy Brother, and then return, and offer thy Gift*. And unless we can prevail with ourselves to *forgive Men their trespasses*, the Oracle of our Religion hath assur'd us, 'tis in vain to Pray for the Pardon of our own. Therefore if it be impossible to resist Temptations to this devilish Sin of Revenge, or, which is all one, to Forgive the Enemy that

that strikes the first Stroke, 'tis impossible to be Saved, and nothing but the Precepts of mutual forbearance and forgiving one another must pass for Gospel Gallantry, or only for the Romantick and Ornamental part of the *Christian* Religion, which it concerns us not at all to practise, or believe. But alas, 'tis as easie to conquer the Passion of Revenge, as to become Meek, and Humble, and Charitable; for the exercise of which most excellent Graces, the *Primitive Christians*, as * *Tertullian* told the *Heathen* Magistrates, and as *Marcellinus*, afterwards observed, were famous among the *Heathens*, when Slanders, Quarrels, Blood-shed, and all other Tragical Effects of *Revenge*, were scarce ever heard of among *Christians* in any of the Churches of God.

But besides the Examples I have taken out of the *Bible*, and other Histories to prove under these Four Instances, that no Temptations are too strong to be overcome, let me add some Examples out of *Heathen* and *Mahumetan* Historians for the further Confirmation of this fundamental Truth.

Under my first Instance I might have produc'd a Thousand illustrious Examples, as of *Socrates*, *Regulus*, *Curtius*; all which chose to die very cruel Deaths: The first, rather than deny God; The second, rather than per-

* In his Apologetick.

jure his Soul; And the third, to deliver his Country from a Plague.

My second Instance I might have adorn'd with the memorable Examples of *Scipio Numantinus*, and *Mahumet* the Great; whereof the first abhorr'd to look upon that charming Beauty which his Captains presented unto him, as his prize: And the latter, after an humble Remonstrance of his Lords, how much it was beneath the Majesty of the *Ottoman* Emperor to enslave it self to the Weaker Sex, immediately sacrificed his dearest *Mistress Irene* to his Honour, with his own victorious Hands. The Action was Barbarous, but the Self-denial was great, and may justly serve to upbraid those abandoned *Christians*, who have not only lost all sense of Honour, but all sense and consideration of infinite future Rewards, and to harden their Hearts, that they will not attend to the Dictates of their own Reason, and thereby dispose their Souls to hearken to the secret Directions and Inspirations of God. They could be content to have him for their Champion, but not for their Second; for they hate to assist him, or which is all one, to let him assist them against the World, the Flesh, and the Devil; but because they cannot do all, therefore they will do nothing, nor contribute that little they have left as Men, to secure themselves from Sin. To conclude, they will not, like *Cornelius*, the first Convert Gentle, prepare themselves

selves by Morality for Grace, but would have God entirely force their Nature and influence their Souls by the irresistible Motions of his Spirit ; being unwilling to do so much in Spiritual Matters, as is requisite to denominate good Actions their own.

Under the third Instance I might have added the great Examples of *Abdolominus*, *Dio-clesian*, and *Otho* ; the first of which was unwilling to change a private Life for a Crown ; The second chang'd a Crown, I cannot say, but the Empire of *Rome*, which had *Crowned heads for Subjects*, for a private Life ; And the third, tho he was elected Emperour by his conquering Legions, refus'd to ratifie the Election by his Sword, but kill'd himself, on purpose to leave the Imperial Seat to his Rival, and save the Expence of his faithful Soldiers Blood.

The fourth Instance I might have confirm'd with the Examples of Christ, S *Stephen*, and all the Holy Martyrs, who pray'd unto God for their Enemies, and with the Testimony of the *Greek* and *Latin* Moralists, all which determine with one Voice, That Revenge is a Passion violent in none, but weak and cowardly Souls ; and that to revenge an Injury, as the *Greek* word *ἀνταδίκη* imports, is according to the Doctrine of *Maximus Tyrius*, to offer one again ; so that he that Returns is as much to be condemned by the Verdict of right Reason, as he that gives an Affront.

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And therefore since 'tis plain by these Examples, that bare Reason and *Moral Gallantry* of Spirit, have sometimes enabled *Heathens* and *Mahumetans* to resist those *Pains* and *Pleasures*, and *Interests*, and *Provocations*, which, as all Men will grant, are the strongest Temptations to Sin; is it not a Shame, and horrid Impiety in *Christians*, whom God, without a just Provocation, never fails to support and assist with his Grace, to magnifie the weakness of Humane Nature, and the Strength of these and the like Temptations, with a malicious Design, not only to justifie themselves and excuse others, but to Debauch Mankind to the utmost of their Power, and render the *Christian* the most vain, false, and absurd Religion, that ever was in the World?

From whence I proceed to prove by Reason, that no Trial or Temptation can happen to Men, but such as is proportionable to Humane Nature, aided with Grace, and such as any *Christian* that is true to his own Soul, and faithfully uses the restraining and assisting Helps of God, may not easily conquer and subdue.

My first Reason shall be taken from the Consideration of the Nature of *Vertue* and *Grace*, which are nothing, but an habitual Power and Ability in the Rational Soul of Man, to bear all sensible Pain and Loss, and forbear all sensible Pleasure and Profit, out of love to Reason and the Righteous Laws of

God.

God. This excellent spiritual Power and Ability of the Soul, as far as it is Natural, or acquired by our own Acts and Endeavours, is of Moral Consideration, but as it is supernaturally wrought in the Soul, or infus'd into it by the Spirit of God, so far it is of Theological Consideration, and belongs not to Moralists, but Divines. But because Grace, as all Men grant, is the Perfection of Nature, and acquired Vertue is consistent with infus'd; I have put them both together in one Definition, in which Divines and Philosophers both agree. But were it impossible, or so exceeding difficult as some Men make it, to resist Temptations; this Definition of Grace or Vertue would be but an useless fictitious Notion, and Divines and Philosophers from the beginning of the World would have been either Knaves, or Fools. All the excellent Sermons the former have made with so much Eloquence and Authority concerning *Mortification*, *Self denial*, and *Perseverance*, and all the brave Discourses the latter have penn'd with such admirable Reason and Rhetorick, concerning *Fortitude*, *Temperance*, and *Patience*, are idle unprofitable Harangues, and as insignificant to the impotent Race and Nature of Man, as the practical Rules of Dancing to a Cripple, or a Lecture in *Geometry* to a natural Fool. In particular, St. Paul, who magnifies the Grace of God so much in his *Epistles*, and protests he took pleasure in bearing

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Reproaches, Persecutions, and Distresses for *Christ's* sake. This great Doctor and Saint, who declar'd upon his own Experience, that he was always most strong, when he was most weak, and that he could do and suffer all things through the Strength he receiv'd from Christ, must pass for a Cheat, or Enthusiast, if Men by the promised Supports and Assistance of God's Grace be not able to resist Temptations unto Sin.

There was never yet in the Church of God a more apt Example to confirm this Doctrine I now maintain, than this Apostle was; for when the *Jews* and *Gnosticks* persecuted his righteous Soul with so much Rage and Violence as to make him call them the *Messengers of Satan*, and compare the Sharpness of the Persecutions, which they rais'd against him, to a *thorn in the flesh*; like a true Soldier of Christ, he still resisted and held out; but yet suspecting his own Perseverance, and fearing lest his Faith and Patience might at last fail, he *Prayed God thrice* to remove the sharp Trials from him: But God, who knew his Strength and Weakness better than he himself, still continu'd them, assuring the suffering Apostle, that *his concurrent Grace was sufficient for him, and that his Strength was made perfect in his Weakness*.

This Relation the Apostle makes of himself, is either true or false: If false, then he was either an *Impostor*, or a *Mad-man*: If he

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was Mad, as the *Festus's* of this Age represent him to be, how came he to speak the Words of Truth and Soberness? How came he to write such learned and profound *Epistles*, and make such admirable Defences for himself and the *Christian* Religion, before so many Procurators, and the Emperour himself at *Rome*? How came he to be so very Wise upon occasion as to plead the Privilege of a *Roman* Citizen, and divide the *Sadduces* against the *Pharisees*, when they had both conspir'd to take away his Life? How came he to baffle the *Jews* out of their own Prophecies and Traditions, to convert the greatest Cities of the World to the *Christian* Religion, and acquire such a particular Veneration and Authority, not only among the common People, but among the Philosophers both of *Greece* and *Rome*? To conclude, how came the Church Universal to canonize his Writings; and how came they particularly to be cited as Divine by such gallant Men as *Justin*, *Origen*, *Tertullian*, *Irenæus*, and *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, who were all great Wits and Philosophers, and equally skilled in Humane Learning with the best of the *Greeks*.

An Impostor likewise he could not be; for then he must have acted for Glory, or Gain. For Glory he did not; because he hath so often acknowledg'd his own Sinfulness, Unworthiness, and Insufficiency, representing himself as the *least of the Apostles*, and freely con-

confessing that he was what he was by the Grace and Designation of God. And for Gain or secular Interest he could not act, for in this Life, he was of all Men most miserable; his Apostolical Office rendring his whole Life but a continual Tragedy or Catalogue of Miseries, as you may read, 2 Cor. 11. from the 23d. to the end of the Chapter. This Story, then, I cited out of his Writings must be infallibly true; and if it be, then Virtue and Grace are *real notions*; and by consequence, no Temptation can happen to any *Christian* Man, but what his Nature is able to bear. But lest you should think that God had a more particular care for this Apostle than other *Christians*, and supply'd him with more particular Aids, than the rest of the Church, you may find him exhorting the whole Church of *Ephesus* to be *strong in the Lord and the power of his might*; you may find him charging *Timothy* to be strong in *the grace that is in Christ*; and exhorting the whole City of the *Philippians*, to work out their Salvation with Care and Sollicitude, because God, by his preventing and assisting Grace was working in their Hearts both to Will and to Do. *Perseverance* or *the working out of Salvation*, consists in nothing but in constantly resisting Temptations to Sin; and there can be no sense in that, nor any other such like Exhortations, unless God (as the *Psalmist* speaks) be a present help in time of Trouble, and his assisting
Grace

Grace concurr to the Aid and Relief of all those that need, and sincerely desire it; and, like the good and faithful Servant in the Gospel, improve it as fast as it is bestowed.

To all which let me add the Precepts of Mortification, Patience, and Self-denial; the Exhortations to keep our selves *Pure, Temperate, Sober, Chast*, to be *stedfast* and *unmoveable*, to be *stedfast to the end*, to *resist the Devil*, to *resist him unto Blood*: Of all which and the like Exhortations, if we consider God as the Original Author, it must needs follow, that all *initiated* Men in Covenant with him, have ordinarily Power to resist the World, the Flesh, and the Devil, nay to resist them all to Martyrdom, and to Blood. And therefore none but *Infidels* and *Atheists* can be so absurd and impious as to imagine that God (with Reverence be it spoken) can so transgress the Rules of common sense, as to advise his Creatures to the practice of those Duties, which he knew before were impossible to be done. Nay this damnable Assertion of the *Libertines* of this Age, (who, like that brutal Prince *Nero*, think all the World as lascivious as themselves) robs God of his Justice and Goodness, by imagining he can delude his reasonable Creatures so far, as to put them upon the Practice of those Duties, which he knew were impracticable and above their Power to do. But God, that is better acquainted with Humane Nature, than Men themselves are, can put

put us upon nothing, but what he knows is either absolutely in our Power, or at least, (as to conquer Temptations is) within the Power of our Nature, assisted by Grace to perform. For this very reason it is, that God and the Church bind every *Christian* at his first Admission into Covenant by such a solemn Oath to resist Temptations, as I mention'd in the beginning of this Discourse: The Substance of which solemn Obligation amounts to thus much; I do here in the Presence of God, my Saviour, and all the Heavenly Host devote myself to the Service of God; I call Heaven, and Earth, the Church Militant and Triumphant to bear witness, that I renounce the World, the Flesh, and the Devil; and that I'll resist their Temptations to my last Breath. This I avow to be my Resolution; and upon this Condition, and this alone, I now desire to enter into Covenant with my God, and be admitted into his Church; and I call my Conscience to Record this Day, that I will never repent of this Promise, nor revoke it, but continue Christ's faithful Soldier and Servant to the end of my Life: So help me, O my God. 'Tis impossible for the Conscience of Man, or Angel to be bound by a stronger Obligation than this; but unless the Matter of it be practicable, 'tis a solemn piece of Nonsense and Delusion; and God and his Church for above 1600 Years have mock'd and abus'd the World.

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The Second Reason, by which I undertake to prove my Assertion, shall be taken from the Consideration of the Nature of *Repentance*: Which consists in an unfeigned Sorrow for our Sins past, and a sincere Resolution by God's Assistance to lead an Holy Life for the time to come. But if Men be conscious to themselves, that the Sins they committed they could by no means resist, why should they sorrow and repent for what is past, or so contradict themselves, and mock God, as to promise amendment for the time to come? Why instead of confessing their Sins to him, do they not rather expostulate with him, and say, 'Tis true, O Lord, I have done many Things which Men that pretend to be thy Ministers; Priestcraft-Men who trouble the World by thy Authority, declare to be grievous Sins; but if they be, I protest I could not help it; Thou knowest I could not resist them; and if Thou wouldst have me do better for the time to come, thou must give me more Grace than hitherto I have had. Which horrible Expostulation shews how inconsistent this damnable Doctrine I oppose, is to the Duty of Repentance; how it evacuates the Gospel-Ministry; how ridiculous it renders Confession and Contrition for Sin; nay how it makes the greatest Sins we are tempted to commit, no Sins at all: and many more such dreadful Consequences flow from it, as may justly make the licentious and blasphemous Wits, that Talk it about

the Town, if they have any Sense or Conscience left, to abhorr it, and themselves for it, in a Repentance not to be repented of.

My third Reason is taken from the Consideration of the Nature of Laws; which commonly, besides the Things they command, or forbid, contain either general or special Threatnings and Promises, as most proper and suitable Motives and Sanctions to engage us to perform the Duties we ought to do, and abstain from the Sins we ought not to commit: But if the free and rational Nature of Man, neither simply in it self, nor with the Assistance of God; if Reason with, no more than without Grace, hath not Bower to overcome Temptations to wilful Sin, it would be transcendent Folly and Cruelty for Princes and States to make Temporal Laws for their Subjects; and much more for God to make Spiritual Laws for his Church. He might with as much Wisdom and Justice have charged Men not to be Hungry or Sick; not to be Hot or Cold; as not to commit Adultery, not to Steal, not to Murther, not to bear False Witness, &c. unless by some Means or other it be in their Power to resist the strongest Temptations that the Wit of Men or Devils can invent, to induce them to commit the foresaid Sins.

My fourth Reason I ground on the 10th of *St. Matthew, ver. 33.* where our Saviour declares, That whosoever shall deny him before Men, him will he deny before his Father
which

which is in Heaven: But were any Suffering so intolerably sharp were any Persecutions so dismal and grievous, that it were impossible for supported Humane Nature to bear them; were all the Torments of a *Roman* Inquisition, and all the Artifices of Cruelty, which Wit and Malice could invent, above the Courage and Resolution of a *Christian*, and insuperable by Reason, strengthened with Grace: The Blessed *Jesus*, who took our Infirmities upon him, and knew by experience what Humane Nature was: He, I say, that was made like unto his Brethren, that he might be a Merciful and Faithful High-Priest, would never deny any Man a share in his Atonement, for doing that, which Extremity of Torment must force him to commit.

To conclude with such another Reason: You may remember that our Saviour, in the Description he gives of Hell in the 9th of *St. Mark*, useth this ingenious *Hebrew* Proverb, *Where their Worm dyeth not*; which *Worm*, according to the sense both of the *Jewish* and *Christian* Church, signifies nothing here, and in the 66th of *Isaiah*, but that stinging Remorse of Conscience, or continual Fret, or Vexation of Soul in Damned Spirits, caused by the Remembrance, and Consideration of the wilful Treachery and Baseness of their own Hearts, in committing those Sins, and yielding to those Temptations, which they knew they had Power sufficient to resist.

BUT were the Damn'd Souls in Hell of this Opinion, that it were impossible, or next to impossible, for Men to resist Temptations; were they conscious to themselves that they were overcome by all Temptations to which they yielded, because they wanted Power sufficient to conquer them; what outward Tortures soever they may endure, they must needs be free from inward Pangs and Torments, from that intolerable horror and remorse of Conscience which our Saviour calls the *Worm*, because, like a *Moth* or *Worm*, it constantly frets and gnaws upon the tenderest part of the Soul that breeds it, and increases the Torments of Hell more than all the Rivers of Fire and Brimstone that constantly flow therein.

And thus, I hope, I have said enough to confirm and illustrate this great Truth, having prov'd it both by *Authority* and *Reason*; and charg'd the contrary Error (or Blasphemy shall I say) with such absurd and damnable Consequences, as may justly make any Man, that is not desperate, both ashamed and afraid to assert it in the presence of God, and *Christian* Men. But we live (*God knows*) in a Nation and Age, wherein Sin and Nonsense are Presumptuous, and wherein 'tis long since become fashionable and genteel to question Principles, and deny all those fundamental Truths of natural and revealed Divinity, which neither *Heathens* nor *Christians* ever

Questi-

Questioned before. This is the Reason, why Divines, whom God hath set for the Service and Defence of the Gospel, have of late been fain to lay the Foundations again, and Preach up such Doctrines as sober Men, not acquainted enough with the Iniquity of the Times, have judged at first hearing, to need no Proof: Such as the *Being and Providence of God, the immortality of the Soul, and the necessity of good works*; to which I may add the Subject of this Discourse, which hath been to prove, that no Temptations which God suffers to fall upon *Christians* are irresistible, or that no thinking, circumspect, vigilant Man, that's true to his own Reason, and careful to make use of the promised Assistance of God, can be over-matched by any Trial, though never so sharp, nor meet with any Temptation too strong to be withstood, how delightful or charming soever it be.

And this Doctrine being proved by so many undeniable *Experiments* and *Reasons*, I hope may be sufficient to demonstrate the Folly, and chastise the Insolence and Impiety of those Prophane Men, who, because they have enslaved themselves to their own Passions, affect to make Man like a Beast, (that is, like themselves) all Sense and Appetite, and represent him as fatally determin'd in all his Actions by outward Objects, and unable to moderate his Lusts, and Fears. But had these Men but common Reverence for God or Man,

C 3

they

they would not so Libel the Nature of the latter, which is the Workmanship of the former ; they would be more modest and civil than to define Humane Nature by their own Corruptions, or pretend to judge of the Thoughts, Actions, and Inclinations of all other Men by their own ; they would be more considerate and reserv'd, and not take a Pride to maintain and propagate an Opinion which is chargeable with such foul and absurd Conclusions, and which shews them to be an inconsiderate, as well as a malicious sort of Men, that Think little, and Talk much, and makes them obnoxious to that dreadful Curse pronounced by the Prophet against those, that *call Good Evil, and Evil Good ; that put Light for Darkness, and Darkness for Light ; that put Bitter for Sweet, and Sweet for Bitter.*

'Twould be very seasonable for these Licentious Times, that such Blasphemers Tongues were restrained by severe Laws, that they might only discourse these, and their other pernicious Doctrines in their own *Cabals*, and not dare to divulge them, and corrupt and trouble the Company of civil and sober Men, with such damnable confident Talk. But since these Mens Tongues are their own, and in this great defect of Civil and Ecclesiastical Censures, they take the Liberty to speak of God and Man as they please, 'tis more necessary that they should be rebuk'd, and their horrid Opinions expos'd and confuted in the Pulpit,

Pulpit, lest their Devilsh Doctrine should spread, and corrupt the World like a Canker, while the Ministers of the Gospel hold their Peace.

As for this Opinion, it divests Man, as you have heard, of his better part, viz. his free and rational Nature, wherein the Image of God consists; it proves all Laws and Orders of Societies to be useless, insignificant, and unnatural Institutions; and so makes the Legislative Power, whether invested in God, or the King, to be Tyranny and Violence; and Men that live under Government to be worse Slaves than the Children of *Israel* in *Ægypt*, where they were commanded to make *Brick, when they had no Straw*. It contradicts the Doctrinal and Historical Parts of Scripture, and with unparallell'd Impudence, gives the Lye to the *Martyrologies* both of the *Jewish* and *Christian* Church. It contradicts the Definition of Virtue and Grace; in particular, it makes *Fortitude, Temperance, Self-denial, Patience, Sobriety, Chastity*, and all other infus'd and acquir'd Habits of resisting Sin, to be idle Fictitious Notions; and so makes all the Divines and Philosophers that have ever been, to have been Impostors or Fools. Furthermore, it is inconsistent with the Doctrine of Repentance, and destroys the Goodness and Wisdom of God, who, upon the Supposition that the Scriptures are true, hath exhorted his People to the Practice of such Duties,

which he knew before, they could not do. To conclude, It overthrows the Catholick Hypothesis of assisting Grace, dissolves the Obligation of our Sacramental Vows, disarms Hell of the most exquisite part of its Torments, and confounds the Notion of Good and Evil, by making it Lawful, in supposing it sometimes necessary for Men to commit the most heinous Sins. All which absurd and detestable Consequences, I hope, you now hear with *Christian* Indignation, and will remember hereafter with Horror and Disdain, whenever you shall hear these sensual Men, like those that were sent to spy out the Holy Land, represent themselves and their Brethren, as *Grasshoppers*; but their Spiritual Adversaries, the Tempters and Temptations with which they ought to conflict, as insuperable *Anakims*, as Enemies of a prodigious Stature, greater, and taller, and stronger than themselves. But these are usually Men, that have *turn'd the Grace of God into Lasciviousness, whose Glory is their Shame, whose God is their Belly, who mind earthly Things*. And because they have debauch'd themselves into Brute Beasts, or at least have a mind to do so, therefore (as St. *Jude* speaks) they *foam out their shame* and Infidelity in flandering the rational Nature of Man, exploding the Doctrine of assisting Grace, Drolling upon the Scriptures and Priests, and upon all Godly Men, and discrediting, as much as they can, the Authority of the Gospel, because

cause it thwarts their Lusts, and disturbs their sensual Repose, by Teaching, that Men by the Grace of God have Power to *overcome the World, resist the Devil, and deny all ungodliness and Worldly Lusts* ; and because it exhorts Men in God's Name to be *patient, vigilant, and stedfast* ; to be *sober, temperate, and chaste* ; to *fight the good fight* ; to *finish the course* ; and *persevere unto the end*. Lastly, because it assures us that God assists us in all our Spiritual Combats, supports us in all our Trials, and will make us more than Conquerors through Christ that loveth us ; nay, *that Christ himself, who hath suffered and been tempted, is able to succour them that are tempted* ; and that no Temptation hath taken us, but such as is moderate and common to Man ; because God is faithful to his Promises, and will not suffer us to be Tempted above our Strength, but will with the Temptation make a gracious Way to escape, that we may be able to bear it.

F I N I S.

7 AP 53

THE
Spirit of Enthusiasm
EXORCISED.
IN A
SERMON
Preach'd before the
UNIVERSITY
OF
OXFORD,

On ACT-SUNDAY, July 11th. 1680.

By George Hickes, D. D. Prebendary of Worcester,
and Chaplain to his Grace the Duke of Lauderdale.

Printed at the Request of Mr. Vice-Chancellor,
and many others, who heard it Preached.

Diserti sunt multi inter illos, magnæ linguæ, flumina linguarum, nunquid Angelicè loquuntur? — Omnia illa nihil iis profunt, quia conscindunt unitatem—Paulus loquitur, si sciam omnia sacramenta, &c. Nemo ergo vobis fabulas vendat, & Pontius fecit miraculum, & Donatus oravit, & Deus ei respondit de Cælo.—Credere si non divisisset unitatem, nam & contra istos (ut sic loquar) mirabiliarios cautum me fecit Deus meus dicens, in novissimis temporibus.—teneamus ergo unitatem fratres mei, præter unitatem, & qui facit miracula nihil est.—Proinde, fratres mei, nemo vos fallat, nemo vos seducat, amate pacem Christi, &c. August. exp. in Evang. Johan. tract. 13.

The Third Edition.

LONDON,
Printed for JOHN CHURCHILL, at the Black
Swan in Pater-Noster-Row, 1713.



To the Reverend Doctor

TIMOTHY HALTON

Provost of *QUEEN'S-COLLEGE*, and
VICE-CHANCELLOR

Of the **UNIVERSITY** of

O X F O R D.

S I R,

THIS Discourse, which was so
acceptable to You from the Pulpit,
is now in all Humility from the Press
offer it self to your further Acceptance,
Protection, and to the Perusal of all
the Learned, and Orthodox Men, who
persuaded me to Publish it, as containing some
new, and wholesome Doctrines, which
were judged seasonable for the Age. I had
endeavoured to satisfy my self in this Subject,
having by God's Blessing upon my En-
quiries attained to Satisfaction in them, I
cast my Observations on purpose into a
SERMON, to see if happily I could
satisfie

The Epistle DEDICATORY.

satisfie other Mens Reasons, by the same Arguments, by which I had convinced my own. And because the Spirits of the Prophets are subject to the Prophets, who chose to Preach it in that Audience, who are always so many Competent and Able Judges of Truth and Error, and who have said on that obscure Subject (as Chrysostom calls it) having been approved therein, I am encouraged to hope, that it will find the like Entertainment in other places, especially among all ingenuous Spirits, who are wont to read with unprejudiced Minds. But lest any should think, that the Scheme by which I go in this Discourse, were a Hypothesis of my own inventing, I have confirmed the Passages in it, which I thought would be most surprizing, with good Authorities: Because how plausible soever any Notions in Divinity may be, they may reasonably pass for suspected, unless they appear to be agreeable to the Sentiments of the Writers of the Catholick Church. To write all Things consonant to Catholick Antiquity is a safe and ex-

Y. The Epistle DEDICATORY.

at Rule, and it is for adbering to it in
Doctrin and Discipline, that the
Church of England, and Her Clergy have
always persecuted by the Papists, the
detended Catholicks on one hand, and
Anti-Prelatical Sects on the other; and
because under God the Universities are the
support of the Church, therefore have they
been decryed for want of Learning by those,
and want of Vertue and Religion by these;
though they have been, and are as fruit-
ful Seminaries of both, as any Schools, or
Universities that are, or ever were in the
World. And now having occasion to speak
of the Universities, it would be real Inju-
ry to your Merits, not to let the World
know, how happy ours is in Your Govern-
ment. I might justly speak great Things of
Your Severity in punishing of Vice, of the
Encouragement you give to Vertue and
Learning, and of your Care and Vigilance
over your own College, and the Uni-
versity, particularly in giving Life to the
publick Exercises in the Schools, of which
are in all Arts, and especially in your
own

The Epistle DEDICATORY.

*own Profession, so great a Fudge. It
under such Governours as You, that the
Muses will flourish in OXFORD, and that
true Learning, and Sound Religion will
ways be taught therein. And therefore
that there may never want a Succession
such Vice-Chancellors as you to Govern
that Famous University, nor of such
Learned Masters and Scholars, as now
adorn it, is the hearty Prayer of,*

S I R,

Your most humble Servant,

GEORGE HICKE

T H

THE
S P I R I T
O F
Enthusiasm Exorcised.

I C O R. xii. 4.

*Now there are Diversities of Gifts, but
the same Spirit.*

THE Discourse, which I intend to make upon this Verse, will oblige me to explain the most obscure and difficult Passages of this Chapter; from the misunderstanding of which, and most other Places of the Gospel, which speak of the *Spirit*, and *Spiritual* Gifts, Impostors on one Hand, and Enthusiasts on the other have raised such absurd and exorbitant Doctrines, as are utterly inconsistent, not only with the Use and Authority of the Scriptures, but the Tradition of the Universal Church, the Orders of the Ministry, and the Study of Divinity, and by Consequence render the Christian Religion, which consists of such Sober and Rational

onal Doctrines, the most wild, uncertain, and unintelligible Institution that ever was in the World. But how groundless and unwarrantable the Enthusiastical Interpretations of this, and other like Places of Scripture are, will appear from the Process of this Discourse, in which I intend to treat so particularly of the Gifts of the Spirit, as to leave out nothing which may be said in such a short Discourse, to illustrate such an excellent Subject, the Knowledge of which is a most Sovereign Antidote against the Poison of Enthusiasm, which is the Spiritual Drunkenness, or Lunacy of this Schismatical Age, and so Distempers the Minds of Men of the other Communion with extravagant Phancies, as to make them more or less affect the extraordinary Gifts of the Spirit, and then conceit, like Poets in Religion, that they have them, and are inspired.

Thus much I thought convenient to premise concerning the Matter and Design of this Discourse, in which I shall proceed according to this familiar Method. First, I intend to speak of the several kinds of Spiritual Gifts, and shew which sort is mentioned in my Text. Secondly, I shall treat of the Number and Variety of them, and explain the Nature of each particular Gift. Thirdly, I shall discourse of the true use of them, and shew the Reasons why they were given by God to the Primitive Church, and not to the Churches of latter Times.

And Lastly, I shall make some Practical Improvement of the whole Discourse.

First then as to the kinds of these Spiritual Gifts, I know my Text is often misapplied by way of accommodation to signify the natural or acquired Gifts of Man's Mind, which in a Physical Sense indeed may be call'd Spiritual, because they transcend the Mechanical Powers of Matter, and proceed more or less from the rational Soul, which is a Spiritual Substance, and as near a-kin in Nature to the Father of Spirits as the Angels, his eldest Sons can be. Such Gifts and Endowments as these are *Memory, Fancy, Wit, Eloquence*, and all Organical Powers, which are commonly known by the Name of *Natural Parts*, but more especially the pure intellectual Powers of *Apprehending and Judging, Comparing, Ordering and Discoursing*, many, or all of both which kinds some happy Souls possess in such Abundance and Perfection, as gives them, according to *Aristotle's* Observation, a natural Kind of Superiority over their Companions, and fits them to govern or instruct the World.

But then how much soever some Men may transcend others in their intellectual Capacities and Improvements, we must not like the Poets, ascribe their extraordinary Gifts to an higher Principle than the nature of Man. For the tallest Trees are natural, as well as the lowest Shrubs; and Gigantick Souls, as well as Bodies, how prodigious soever their Stature

may be, yet, like *Saul* among his Brethren, they are but Men, though worthy to be Princes, and differ as much from Persons gifted by Inspiration, as *Goliath* from *Samson*, *Praxiteles* and *Phidias* from *Bezaleel* and *Aholiab*, or *studied Linguists* from the *Apostles*, who were inspired with the Gift of Tongues.

Indeed all our Parts and Abilities are the Gifts of God, who is the original Author of our Nature, and by consequence of all that belongs thereunto; but the Gifts of which the Apostle speaks in this Chapter, are wholly Supernatural, and immediately proceed from the Spirit of God. Gifts that were given to advance humane Nature above it self, to raise all its Springs above their Fountain, and enable the blessed Persons affected with them to speak, and write, and act such Things, and in such a peculiar manner, as was impossible for Men not inspired to do.

These are the Gifts, or Graces, which the Apostle treats of in this Chapter, as may be proved from the first Verse, which is an Introduction to his whole Discourse. Now Brethren (saith he) *περὶ πνευματικῶν*, concerning *Spiritual Gifts* I would not have you ignorant. *Spiritual Gifts*, not so called from the Soul or Spirit of Man, wherein they were as in their Subject (for if this had been his meaning, he must not have said *περὶ πνευματικῶν*, but *περὶ νοερῶν*, or *ψυχικῶν*) but the Author from whom they came *τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον* the Spirit of God, whom our Saviour

Saviour promised to send to his Disciples after he ascended into Heaven; which he first of all did on the Day of Pentecost, when the Holy Ghost came down upon them in a mighty rushing Wind to signify the plentiful Inspiration of the Spirit, and sat upon them all in the Shape of fiery cloven Tongues, as so many visible Symbols of the most * wonderful act of Inspiration, which was the gift of Tongues.

Secondly, But then there being Two sorts of Spiritual Gifts *common* and *special*, we must further proceed to enquire which kind of the Two is meant here.

By the common Gifts of the Spirit, I mean the Gifts of *Sanctification*, which all *Christians* are bound to pray for, and expect, and that are given by God in common to all those who sincerely desire them, and labour after them, and that are necessary for the Salvation of the Soul.

By special Gifts I understand Gifts of *Edification*, which Men are not ordinarily bound to expect, and which, unless it be in some few Circumstances, that seldom happen, would be Vanity and Presumption to beg of God, and which by Consequence are not Necessary for the Salvation of the Soul.

Of the former sort are all the saving Gifts and Graces of the Spirit called in the Schools, *gratie gratum facientes*, which the Spirit helps

* Πλέον ὅ πάντων τὸ ἥ γλωσσῶν ἦν παρ' αὐτοῖς χάρισμα.
Chrysost. Hom. 29. in 1 ep. ad Cor. cap. 12.

to work in Mens Hearts, as *Faith, Hope, Charity, Purity, Humility*, and all other gracious Habits of Mind, which the Apostle calls the Fruit of the Spirit, and wherein the Image of God, the Power of Godliness, and the Spirit of Christianity truly do consist.

Of the latter sort are all the Miraculous Unctions of the Holy Ghost, called by the Schoolmen, *gratiæ gratis datæ*, such as the *gift of tongues, power of working miracles, signs and wonders, the spirit of Prophecy*, and the like, which are not necessary for the Church, but in certain Cases of special Exigence, and which, when they are necessary, are not given, like the other, jointly to all, but severally to some. Such wonderful Gifts and Graces were those, which *Elias* sent down with his Mantle upon *Elisha*, when he ascended into Heaven, thereby prefiguring the liberal Effusion of the Spirit from Christ upon his Disciples after his Ascension; for as the Apostle writes in the 4th Chapter of his *Epistle to the Ephesians*, *When he ascended up on high, and led Captivity* (that is, Satan, Sin, and Death) *captive, he gave in like manner gifts unto men.*

Both these sorts of Gifts agree in this, that they are Supernatural, and freely given by God to Men, and therefore both of them are called *gratiæ* in the vulgar Latin, and *Graces* in all the modern Tongues, though for Distinction sake the former are commonly called

gratiæ

χρῆσταις, and the latter *χρησμεύουσα* by Divines. But though both proceed from the same Spirit, and spring from the same Fountain of Grace, yet, as I have already hinted, they differ in their *nature, extent, and use.*

First in their Nature: For the former are nothing, but moral Vertues insensibly wrought in our Hearts by the Holy Ghost, we our selves co-operating therewith. And their proper Effect is to sanctifie our Nature, and make us like, and acceptable unto God. But the latter are not of a moral Nature, nor capable of moral Consideration, as being either pure intellectual Habits, as the Gift of Tongues, discerning of Spirits, &c. or else bodily Vertues, and Powers, as the Power of curing Diseases, &c. to which the affected Person contributed nothing himself, and by which tho' he were made a more eminent Man, or Minister, yet was he not made a * better Christian than he was before. Therefore they did not sanctifie the nature of the Person, on whom they were bestow'd, nor render him in the least more acceptable unto God, tho' they were (some of them more-especially) often given to sanctified Persons, and so might declare, but not make a Man good. I say they were often, but not always given to sanctified Per-

* *Non omnes Christiani boni demones ejiciunt, omnium tamen nomina scripta sunt in Cælo.* August. in Psal. 130.

sons: For at * first the Holy Ghost fell upon all that were Baptized, and Confirmed; the Spirit of Prophecy was given to *Balaam*; the Power of working Signs and Wonders, and of casting out Devils was given to † *Judas*, as well as the rest of the Apostles; and therefore saith our Saviour, *Matth. 7. 23.* to this purpose, *Many will say unto me in that day (that is, the Day of Judgment) || Lord! Lord! have we not prophesied in thy name, and in thy name have done many wonderful works? and then will I profess unto you, I never knew you, depart from me ye workers of Iniquity.* From which place it is evident, that miraculous Gifts are so far from transforming the sinful nature of Man, that if they do not find us, they cannot make us good, nor, like a single Act of Faith and Repentance, give us a Title to the Kingdom of God.

Then as for their Extent, the latter are not useful for all Churches, nor for the same Church in all Conditions and States; and in

* Οἱ πνεύσαντες ἐν ἀρχῇ διὰ βαπτισθέντες, πάντες τὸ πνεῦμα ἔλαβαν. *Theophyl. in 1 Cor. 12. 1.* διάφορα πᾶσι τοῖς τῶν βαπτισμένοις ἐδίδε χρίσματα ὁ Θεός, ἀλλ' οὐ πνεύματα ἐκάλειτο. *Chrysoft. in Epist. ad Rom. cap. 8. Hom. 14.* † Hieronym. in cap. 7. *Matth. Multi mihi dicent, &c. || Si sciam (inquit) omnia Sacramenta —charitatem autem non habeam, nihil sum. Nemo ergo vobis fabulas vendat: & Pontius fecit miraculum & Donatus oravit, & respondit Deus ei de Cælo— Contra istos, ut sic loquar, mirabiliarios cautum me fecit Deus meus dicens, In novissimis temporibus, &c. Aug. tract. 13. in Evang. Johan. Cyprian de unit. Eccles.*

the Churches where they were useful, they were, as it appears from Ecclesiastical History, commonly given to the Ministers more than the People, to Children not at all, and seldom to Women than to Men. But the saving Graces of the Spirit are equally useful for the Church in all Conditions and States, and are given as much to the People as to their Ministers, and to Women and Children, as much as to Men, and they are never taken from those, to whom they are once given unless they neglect, or abuse them, and grieve the good Spirit from whom they come.

Lastly, As for their Use, the Saving Gifts are given to Men for their own, but the miraculous Gifts for the good of the Church. By Those we vanquish the Devil, and destroy his Kingdom of Sin within us; by These the Apostles destroyed his Kingdom of Darkness in the Idolatrous World: By Those we glorify God within the Pale of the Church; by These publish his Almighty Power and Glory to those without. Lastly, Those make us precious in the Eyes of God, These make us glorious in the Eyes of Men. Whereupon Gifted Persons, as it appears from the Fourth Chap. of this Epist. *ver.* 7. were often tempted by popular Applause to pride themselves in their Gifts. For this Reason it was, as the Apostle suggests in the 11th *ver.* that God divided these Gifts to several Men in several Measures and Proportions, according as he knew

knew their Capacities would bear. For such is the Infirmary of Humane Nature, that the best of Gifted Men were apt to * glorifie themselves in their Gifts, and despise the Ungifted Ministers of the Church. For which reason there was given a † *thorn in the flesh* to this blessed Apostle himself, *and the messenger of Satan to buffet him, lest he should be exalted above measure through the abundance of revelations, which he received.* And therefore knowing, that these miraculous Graces were valuable no further, than as they were serviceable to the Church, he reprov'd the *Corinthians* in the last Verse of this, and the beginning of the next Chapter for their immoderate ambitious desiring of them, exhorting them rather to covet, and pray earnestly for the saving Graces of the Spirit, as the more desirable Gifts.

From which Comparison, and likewise from the several Distributions of these Gifts, of which he treats in this Chapter, it is most certain, that he understood by them not the saving Universal, but the special miraculous Gifts of the Holy Ghost. For as he speaks in the 8th and 9th Verses, to one was given one

* Vid. Chrysost. Hom. 29. in 1 Ep. ad Cor. c. 12. † Ne extolleretur tanquam juvenis, colaphizabatur tanquam puer—si ergo Apostolus potuit extolli magnitudine revelationum, nisi acciperet Angelum Satanae, qui se colaphizaret—vidit Dominus quod tentaret eos superbia ex potentia miraculorum. August. in Psal. 130. *μὴ δὲ ἰνδυναλέσθω ἡ λυγρὴ ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ ᾧ ὑπερβαλλόμεθα, καὶ ἐνδοξάζωμεθα αὐτῷ.* Clem. ad Cor. 23.

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Gift, to another another, to a third a third ;
to every Man severally, to one greater to ano-
ther less, according as God in his Wisdom saw
fit. Which cannot be truly said of the Saving
Graces of the Spirit, because God must bestow
them jointly, or not at all. God cannot give
Humility to one, Purity or Chastness to ano-
ther, and Charity alone to a third, because
there is such an inseparable Union and Alli-
ance among the Graces of the Spirit (as Phi-
losophers have observed of Moral Vertues)
that where one is really, there all the rest must
be. Which, as I conceive, is the Reason why
the Writers of the *New Testament* express the
whole Body of Practical Divinity sometimes
by Faith, sometimes by Hope, sometimes by
Repentance, and sometimes by Love, because
the Combination of these Saving Graces is
such, that the mentioning of one implies all
the rest.

But if this be not sufficient to prove, espe-
cially against Enthusiasts, that by Spiritual
Gifts in this place the miraculous sort of them
is to be understood, it will undeniably appear
from considering the Number and Variety of
them, of which I proposed to speak in the
second place. *For there are Diversities of
Gifts, but the same Spirit.*

A great Diversity indeed, for the Apostle
here presents us with a List of Nine sorts. *The
Word of Wisdom; the Word of Knowledge;
Faith;*

Faith ; Gifts of Healing ; Working of Miracles ; Prophecy ; discerning of Spirits ; diverse kinds of Tongues ; and the Interpretation of those Tongues.

First, The Word of Wisdom, or the Revelation of the Gospel, which is called the Wisdom of God in Christ. For as the *Greeks* and *Romans* called the Knowledge of secret and excellent Things by the Name of Philosophy : So the *Jews* called it by the Name of *Chochmah*, or Wisdom, which so often occurs in *Solomon's Works*. And therefore *St. Paul* in his Hellenistical Style, which consisted in writing of Hebraisms, or Syriacisms, in *Greek*, Emphatically calls the Knowledge of * Evangelical Doctrines and Mysteries by the Name of *Wisdom*, and distinguisheth it from the Wisdom, *i. e.* from the Philosophy of the World, in the 2d Chap. of this Epist. 6, and 7. verses. *Howbeit* (saith he) *we speak wisdom, yet not the wisdom of this world, but the wisdom of God in a mystery, even the hidden wisdom, the revelation of which, God ordained before the*

* * Λόγον σοφίας & ἑὐαγγελίαν, &c. Sermonem sapientiae vocat non eloquentiam sed veram doctrinam, cujus ipse etiam divinus Apostolus gratiam acceperat, & divus Johan. Evangelista, & divus Petrus Apostolorum summus. Neque enim potuissent homines piscatores, & manu sibi victum parantes, & literarum planè ignari conciones habere, & scribere, & quæ dicebant, & scriptis mandabant virtute maximâ implere, nisi à divino Spiritu veram sapientiam accepissent. Theodoret. in 2. ep. ad Corinth. cap. 12. Δοξάζω Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν Θεὸν τὸν ἕως ὑμῶν Σοφίσαντα. — Ignat. ad Smyrna.

World was unto our Glory, that is, unto the Glory of us the Apostles, who were the first Discoverers thereof. To them it was that the Spirit gave the first Understanding and Discovery of the Mysteries of God, and of the Father, and of Christ; in whom, as our Apostle speaks, *Col. 2.* all the Treasures of Wisdom and Knowledge were hid. In him they were hidden, and wrapt up, before they were unfolded by the Apostles, to whom in the 14, 15, and 16 Chapters of St. John's Gospel our Saviour promised his Spirit to comfort and assist them in his Absence, to teach them all the things that belonged to the Gospel, to lead them into all Truth, to bring to their Remembrance, whatsoever he had formerly taught them, and bear witness to the Truth of their Doctrine by his Works.

Therefore the first, and most principal Gift of the Spirit was this, Λόγος Σοφίας, the Revelation of the Gospel, or the Discovery of all those excellent Truths, the Knowledge and Belief whereof is Essential on our Parts to the new and better Covenant, which God hath made betwixt himself and Man. This Supernatural Knowledge of the whole Counsel of God in the Redemption of the World through Christ, was first given to the Apostles by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and Preached by them to the whole World. Given I say, to the Apostles, for as we read of διαλείψεις χαρισμάτων, *diversities of Gifts* in my Text: So in the

the next *Verse* to it, we read of *Sanctis Sanctorum*, differences of Administrations, that is, of Ministeries, or Ministers to whom these Gifts belonged. And therefore as the Apostle hath put the *Word of Wisdom* first in the Catalogue of Gifts: So in the List of Ministers, which answers to it in the 28th *verse*, he hath put the *Apostles* first:

From whence I pass to the Word of Knowledge, by which with Dr. *Lightfoot*, and *Menochius*, I understand Prophecy properly so called, or the revealed Knowledge of secret, remote, and future Things. Of secret Things, as of the Mind, or Will of God, or the Thoughts of Men; of remote Things, as of what was done in other Places; or of future Things, as of what would be done in Times to come. According to this Interpretation you will find, that *Prophets*, which holds the Second Place in the List of Ministers, exactly answers to the *Word of Knowledge* in the Catalogue of Gifts. *In the Church* (saith he) *God hath set First Apostles, Secondly Prophets.* The Spirit of Prophecy, properly so called, had ceased a long time in the *Jewish Church* before the coming of Christ; but in the *last Days*, that is, in the Conclusion of the *Jewish*, and beginning of the Christian Church, God poured it out upon all Flesh, and their young Men saw Visions, and their old Men dreamed Dreams, according to the Prediction of *Joel* in the 2d. chap. which *St. Peter* on the

the Day of Pentecost, when the Spirit descended with all his Gifts, declared was fulfilled to the Jews. By this renewed Spirit of Prophecy it was, that the * Prophets in the Church of *Antioch* had it revealed to them by the Holy Ghost, that *Barnabas* and *Saul* should be separated for the Work, unto which he had called them; that St. *Peter* † knew, that *Ananias* and *Saphira* lyed to the Holy Ghost; that || *Agabus* foretold the Famine in the Days of *Claudius Cæsar*, and the Imprisonment of St. *Paul* at *Jerusalem*; that * *Ananias* knew of the Conversion of St. *Paul*; and that † St. *Paul* told the Centurion before the Shipwrack, that not a Man in the Ship should be lost. Lastly, That St. *John* wrote the Revelation in the ancient Prophetick Style, and that many others, of whom we read in || Ecclesiastical History, foretold many strange Events.

From whence I proceed to the Third Gift, which is called *Faith*, by which you are not to understand *πιστιν Δογματων*, as * *Chrysost.* calls justifying, or saving Faith (for that was a common Gift to which all Christians had an equal Title and Claim) but *πιστιν Επιτελων*, the Faith of Miracles Emphatically so called, because it was a certain supernatural Confidence

* Acts 13. 2. † Acts 5. 3. || Acts 11. 28. 21. 10. * Acts 10. † Acts 27. 23, 24. || Euseb. Eccles. hist. lib. 5. cap. 6. lib. 3. c. 37. * Hom. 29. in Ep. ad Cor. cap. 12. Theophyl. Oecum. & Theod. in eod. cap.

and

and Assurance wrought by the Spirit in the Soul of a Man, by which he was sure he could do such or such Miracles, before he attempted to do them. By this supernatural Confidence and Impulse it was, that Men knew, as by a Sign, when they could work Wonders, and when not, and the greatest Operator, whether Prophet, or Apostle, durst never undertake to do a Miracle, but when he was assured by the Spirit he could do it. And indeed it was requisite for God by some secret preceeding Impression to let the *Διδασκάλους* or Teachers of the Gospel know, when he would assist them, lest they should attempt to do Miracles when they could not, and so discredit their own Doctrine, and Authority, and dishonour the Name of God. Of this sort of Enthusiastical Confidence, with which the Spirit filled the Minds of Men, is that Place to be understood in the * 21. *ch.* of St. Matthew's Gospel, *ver.* 21. where our Saviour told his Disciples, *That if they had Faith, and doubted not, they should not only do what he had done to the Fig-tree, but if they should say to that Mountain (upon which they stood) Be thou removed, and cast into the Sea, it should be done.* And therefore this sort of Faith is here put be

* As also that in *Matth.* 17. 20. *Luke* 17. 5, 6. *vid.* Chrysostom. *Hom.* 29. in 1. *ep.* ad Corinth. *cap.* 12. — ἀλλὰ τὴν τῶν Σημάρων πέδον ἢς φησὶν, εἰ ἂν ἔχουσιν πίστιν, &c. Theodor. in locum, πίστις αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν κοινὴν αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνην πέδον ἢς φησὶν δὲ εἰ ἂν ἔχουσιν τὴν πίστιν ὥστε ὅρη μετακινήσονται.

fore the Gift of healing, and working of Miracles, because it consisted in an antecedent impulse to do both.

Or else by Faith is here to be understood *supernatural Courage and Confidence*, with which God was wont to endow the Minds of all those whom he set upon any Design, that would find Oppositions from Devils or Men. This *fiducia*, or undaunted Courage, is called in the *New Testament* *παρρησία*, which we render boldness, *Acts* 4. 13, 29, 31. But by the ingenious Translator of the *Mons-Testament* it is rendered *Constance, fermeté, Liberté, Hardinesse*, and it was an effect of that which the *Jewish* Writers call the *Spirit of might*, and as * *Maimonides* observes, it was always conferr'd upon the Person commission'd by God after the Promise of *ittecha Ani*, or *Ehieh Immach, Go, and I will be with thee*. Which Promise as it was solemnly made by God to † *Moses*, † *Jeremiah*, and * others in the Old Testament: So was it as solemnly made to the Apostles by Christ in the New. For after his Resurrection, when he gave them Commission and Authority to Teach, and Baptize all Nations, he said, * *All Power is given unto me both in Heaven and Earth, Go ye therefore, and teach all Nati-*

* *Mor. Nevuch. Pt. 2. c. 38.* † *Exod. 3. 12.* † *Jerem. 1. 8.*
* *Ezek. 3. 9.* *Deut. 31. 6, 8.* *Josh. 1. 5.* † *Matth. 28. 19,*
20. particularly to *S. Paul*, *Acts* 18. 9, 10.

ons, Baptizing them in the Name of the Father, &c. and lo! I am with you to the end of the World. Accordingly we read in the *Acts* of the Apostles, with what invincible Resolution and Courage those poor Men appeared before the Jewish and Heathen Tribunals, and with what astonishing Presence both of Body and Mind, they, and * other Teachers of the Gospel, bore the Name of Jesus before the Kings and Princes, and People of the Earth.

Under the Fourth miraculous Gift, which is the Gift of Healing, is comprehended the Power of Curing all Diseases both of Body, and † Mind, without the Help of Physick, through the alone Name of Jesus Christ, as also the more wonderful Power of raising the dead. For as inflicting of Death is usually joined by the Ancients with the Power of inflicting Diseases: So the Power of curing Diseases, and raising the Dead, are usually joined together in their || Writings, as Effects of the same miraculous Gift. Although the latter also is often reduced under the Fifth miraculous Gift, *Ἐνεργηματα Δυνάμεων*, which we

* *Acts* 7. 13, 46. † *Inde jam facultas datur posse venenorum virus extinguere, animorum desipientium labes redditâ sanitate purgare, infestis jubere pacem. violentis quietem, ferocientibus lenitatem*, ——— Cyprian. *Epist. ad Donat.* || *Alii laborantes aliquâ infirmitate per manûs impositionem curant & sanos restitunt, etiam & quemadmodum diximus mortui resurrexerunt & perseverarunt nobiscum annis multis.* *Irenæus, Lib. 2. c. 57.* vid. *Euseb. Lib. 5. Hist. c. 7.*

translate working of Miracles : Under which is comprehended the Power of working Signs and Wonders in the Heavens, of silencing and casting Devils both out of Men, and Oracles, of inflicting Death, as the Prophet did, on the Captains of Fifties, and their Companies, and St. Peter upon *Ananias* and his Wife. Lastly, The Power of inflicting Diseases on the Bodies of incorrigible Sinners, as *Paul* did upon *Elymas* the Sorcerer, which in this, and the first of his Epistles to *Timothy*, is called the delivering up to Satan by Excommunication, and perhaps also the Power of filling the Souls of Contumacious Sinners, with supernatural Horror and Agonies, which when they are not natural, are worse to be endured than the most intolerable bodily Pains.

By Prophecy is not understood the Gift of Prediction, or knowing remote and future Events. But first, the Gift of Preaching or expounding the Scriptures by Inspiration, in which Sense it is said in the 4th verse of the 14th chap. every Man Praying or Prophesying, that is, Praying and Preaching with his head covered, dishonoureth his Head. In this sense Inspired Preachers are called Prophets in the 14th chap. of this Epist. ver. 29. *Let the Prophets* (saith he) *speak two or three at a time, and let the rest hear and judge.* Accordingly *Nebia*, the Hebrew Word for a Prophet, is often rendred in the Chaldee Translation

tion by * *Saphra*, and † *Meturgeman*, which signifies Teacher and Interpreter, in which Sence the Preachers in the Church of *Corinth* were very properly called Prophets, who Preached and Expounded the Holy Scriptures by Inspiration from the Holy Ghost.

Or else Prophecy may be taken, as it often is in the *Old* and *New Testament*, for *Praising of God by inspired Hymns and Psalms*. For inspired Persons did usually spend their Enthusiasm in composing of Hymns, and Spiritual Songs: Which is the Reason we read of such a great number of Divine Poets, or Psalmists among the *Hebrews*, as *Moses*, *David*, *Asaph*, *Heman*, *Jeduthun*, and the rest. Hence it is that we read 1 *Sam.* 10. of a Company of Prophets, who came down from an high place Prophecying, Singing (saith the || *Paraphrast*) with Psalteries, Tabrets, Pipes and Harps. And both in that, and the 19th *Chap.* where *Saul* is said to have Prophecied among the Prophets; the *Paraphrast* plainly saith he Sang or Praised God. And according to both the Senses of the Word *Prophecy* you find *Psalms* and Doctrines among the Gifts of the Spirit in the 14th *Chap.* of this *Epist.* and the 26th *verse*.

But Thirdly, Prophecy is put here not only for Preaching, and revealing secret and future

* *Targ. Jen.* 1 *Sem.* 10: 5, 12. † *Targ. Onk.* *Exod.* 7
משב חין

Things, and Praising God by Inspiration, but also for Praying unto him *in publick Assemblies* by * Inspired Prayers. For in the Apostles Time there was a miraculous Gift of Praying as well as Preaching, when the Spirit used publickly to actuate the Souls of Men, and affect them in such an extraordinary manner, as to make them pray for such Things, and in such a Way, as in those early Times, when the new planted Churches, which had been used to pray after the *Jewish* Manner and Form, upon the Change of their Religion and Synagogues, knew not for what, nor how to pray. Wherefore in these Congregations assembled together in Christian Synagogues, which as yet had not compos'd Liturgies, as the *Jewish* had, God directed them by Prophets or Inspired Men, here called πνευματικοί

* Μετὰ τῶν πάντων δὲ τούτων ἦν ὁ ἐν ἡμῖν χάρισμα

Porro una cum his omnibus donis erat & precum donum, quod & ipsum spiritus dicebatur, quo qui præditus erat pro plebe universa preces fundebat. Quandoquidem enim multa, eorum, quæ nobis conducunt, ignoremus, & quæ minime conducunt postulemus, accessit donum precum ad unum aliquem eorum, qui quod communiter universæ Ecclesiæ conducebat, id ipse pro omnibus stans postularet, tum alios edoceret. Spiritum igitur hic vocat tum donum tale, tum animam eam, quæ donum id susciperet, quæque apud Deum intercederet, ac gerneret. Qui enim hujusmodi gratiâ dignatus est, is magnâ cum animi compunctione stans, multisque cum gemitibus, mente autem coram Deo prostratus quæ omnibus conducunt petit, cujus & nunc Symbolum est Minister pro populo preces Deo offerens. Hoc igitur Paulus sentiens dixit, ipse spiritus intercedit pro nobis gemitibus inenarrabilibus. Chrys. in Ep. ad Rom. c. 8. Hom. 14. To the same purpose speaks Theoph. and Oecumen. upon the Place.

for what, and in what manner to pray; as to invoke God by the new Name of Father, to pray for the Enlargement of his Kingdom, Conversion of the *Gentiles*, the Peace of the *New Jerusalem*, the Prosperity of the *Roman Empire*, which they did not pray for in the *Jewish Oeconomy*, and to pray unto him through the Merits and Mediation of the Crucified Jesus, which were all new Matter and Modes of Prayer.

In this sense it was, that the Apostle saith that the Spirit (by the Gift of Prayer) helpeth our Infirmities. And that the Spirit, or * Inspired Person, maketh Intercession for us *ὑπερ᾽ ἡμῶν ἀλαλήτοις*, with *unutterable sighs and groans*. Likewise (saith he) the Spirit helpeth our Infirmities, for † *we know not what things we should pray for*, [or in what manner] *as we ought*, but the Inspired Man maketh Intercession for us with Groanings which cannot be expressed. Which Groanings, or rather Sighings, were the effect of those supernatural Enthusiasms and Devotions, with which the Spirit filled the Souls of these Inspired Orators, often moving them withal to Pray in unknown Tongues. Which *S. Paul* Empha-

* Μετὰ γὰρ πολλῆς κατανύξεως ἵστατο ὁ πνευματικὸς ὁ ἄνθρωπος
 —nam magnā cum compunctione stabat spiritualis ille homo,
 & multis gemitibus, cujus hodiè signum est Diaconus stans in-
 tentas supplicationes pro populo effundens. Theoph. in locum.

† Etiam seipsum immiscuit nè sermo odiosus videatur. Oecu-
 men. in locum.

rically calls *praying by the spirit*, in opposition to praying intelligibly, or * with the understanding, as you may see in the † 14th *chap.* of this Epist. the 14th and 15th *verses*, which the Enthusiasts of this Age have so perverted and abused. This Gift above all others was looked upon as a singular Pledge of God's favour, and as a Seal by which he own'd the *Christians* to be his *adopted Sons*. And therefore in the 8th *Chap.* of the Epistle to the *Romans*, the Apostle calls it the *Spirit of Adoption*, whereby they were moved to cry *Abba Father*. A Name as S. || *Chrysoft.* and *Theophyl.* observe, by which the *Jews* were no where found to call upon God in Prayer, although they called God * Father, by way of Acknowledgement and Confession, and therefore the Spirit moving the *Christians* to invoke God by the Name of Father, as our Saviour had directed his Disciples to address themselves unto him before, did thereby bear witness with their Spirits, that they were, *Gal. iv. 6.*

* *Adverbium significat nomen cum præpositione.* Sanctius in Minerv. Schiopp. in gram. Philos. Grammaire raisonnée.

† *Chrysoft.* & *Theoph.* in loc. || *In locum.*

* *Deut. 32. 18. Mal. 2. 10. I Chron. 29. 10. Isa. 63. 16. Jer. 8. 41. So Joma cap. 8. 9. dixit R. Akiba, beati vos O Israel coram quo purificamini; & quis purificat vos? Pater vester qui est in Cœlis, juxta dictum illud, Et spargam, &c. Ezek. 35. 25. Sotta cap. 9. 15. Postquam prædixit futuras calamitates tempore visitationis templi sic erumpit: Cui ergo itemur nisi Patri nostro qui est in Cœlis? quæ verba bis ibi repetuntur.*

the Sons of God. I pray mark what I say upon the Authority of * *Origen* and *St. Chrysost.* who assert that the Jews were *no where* found to invoke God by the Name of Father, which must be † restrained to the Old

* *Origen.* Περὶ εὐχῆς. In explicatione orationis Dominicae. Πάτερ ἡμῶν, &c. Pater noster qui es in Cœlis. Opere pretium fuerit diligentius perscrutari Testamentum, Vetus quod dicitur, an alicubi reperias orationem cujusquam qui Deum Patrem vocat; necdum enim impræsentiarum sedulo quam possem perquirenti, mihi tale quidpiam occurrit. Non enim hoc dicimus, quod Deus ibi nusquam appelletur Pater; seu quod homines fideles, non vocarentur filii Dei; sed quod nusquam invenerimus exemplum fiducia, qualis hic à Servatore indicatur, ut quis compellet Deum in oratione sub nomine Patris. Quod autem Deus Pater dicatur, & qui Dei sermonibus attendunt, filii ejus, id vero passim videre est, ut in. Deuteronomio: Deum qui te genuit, dereliquisti: & oblitus es Dei nutrientis te. Et iterum: Nonne hic ipse Pater tuus possedit te, & fecit te & creavit te? Et iterum. Filii quibus non est fides in eis. Et in Esaia: Filios genui, & exaltavi: ipsi autem spreverunt me. Et in Malachia: Filius glorificabit Patrem, & servus Dominum suum. Et si Pater ego sum, ubi est gloria mea? Et si Dominus ego sum, ubi est timor meus? Et si dicatis ideo Deum esse Patrem, & qui verbo fidei geniti sunt, filios ejus; at verum nusquam eis filiationem certam ac immutabilem iribuunt Veteris Testamenti scripturæ. Ideo loca quæ citavimus, ostendunt filios, qui sic dicti sunt istos obnoxios, (i. e. sub potestate Dei ut servos) fuisse. Quod ipsum & Apostolus: Quanto tempore, inquit, hæres parvulus es, nihil differt à servo, etsi sit Dominus omnium; sed sub tutoribus & actoribus est, usq; ad præfinitum tempus à Patre. Plenitudo autem temporis ex adventu domini nostri Jesu Christi jam adest, quando, quotquot volunt, adoptionem filiorum accipimus. Sicut Paulus de illis docet: Non enim accepistis inquit, spiritum servitutis in timore, sed accepistis spiritum adoptionis filiorum, in quo clamamus, Abba Pater. Et in isto secundum Joannem: Quotquot autem receperunt eum, dedit eis potestatem filios Dei fieri, his qui credunt in nomine ejus.

† For in their Offices which are very ancient, we find God invoked by the Name of Father, particularly in that

lemn Prayer, which is styled (because it contains Eighteen small Prayers) שמונה עשרה; and mention whereof is made in the *Mishna* [*tractat. de Benedictionibus ברכות cap. 4. 3.* *Ramban Gamaliel dicit quolibet die orare debet quisquam octodecem preces*] One of those Prayers beginneth אבינו *להחיותנו* fac nos revertere Pater noster ad legem tuam. Turn us our Father unto thy Law. Another Prayer for the Blessing of the Season of the Year, which particularly is cited in the *Mishna* in the same *Tract. cap. 5. 2.* beginneth ברכנו אבינו בכל מעשי ידינו Bless us, our Father, in all the Works of our Hands. In the Days appointed for Penitence which are 40 days, and to some 40 before the Day of Atonement, there are many Prayers, which begin אבינו מלכנו our Father, our King. But though this Title of *Father* be now found in the Prayers of the *Jews*, yet it is very probable that they being under a servile Dispensation very rarely presumed to address themselves unto God by that familiar Appellation, till they saw that the *Christians*, who reproached them as bondmen to the Law, came with such freedom to the Throne of Grace.

Testament and the *Apocrypha*; where from *Abraham* to the *Maccabeans* we find none that calls upon him in Prayer by the Name of *Father*, which makes these great Mens Notion very probable, that the *Christians* first invoked God by that Title, being thereunto moved by the Holy Ghost, who thereby declared to the unbelieving *Jews*, that they were the Sons of God, and his Heirs, and Coheirs thro' Jesus Christ. But then says *S. Chrys.* as it were correcting himself, if they did call God Father in their Devotions, they did it, ἐξ οἰκίας Διανοίας, of their own proper Motion, whereas the Gifted *Christian* Orators did it, ἀπὸ πνευματικῆς ἐνεργείας κινούμενοι, by the Spiritual Energy of the Holy Ghost, and there was as sensible a Difference

ference (saith he) between calling God Father from those two Principles, as between speaking in acquired Tongues, and Tongues by Inspiration, or healing by Physick, and the Gift of the Holy Ghost; whereof the latter carried along with them a visible Divine Impress, and therefore the Spirit which moved the *Christians* to cry * *Abba Father* in their Devotions might well be called the *Spirit of adoption, which thereby bore witness with their Spirits that they were the sons of God.*

From whence I pass to the *discerning of Spirits*, which was as useful a Gift as any of the rest. For as in *Egypt* Satan raised up *Jannes* and *Jambres*, and other Magicians to contend with *Moses* in working of Miracles: So in the Primitive Times of Christianity he raised up several Conjurers, and Magicians, who as the Apostle speaks in his first Epistle to *Timothy*, *Came after the working of Satan with all power, and signs, and lying wonders*, of whom our Saviour prophesying in the 24th chap. of *S. Matthew's Gospel* said, that *they should shew great signs, and wonders, and deceive if it were possible the very † Elect*, that is, the † Church it

* *Paracletus ipse testimonium dicit dono quod datum est nobis: non enim nos Abba sonamus sine teste & à nobis ipsis, verum paracleti donum est, & ipse docuit nos per spiritum, id est, donum, sic loqui in orationibus.* Theophyl. Rom. 8. 16. See Gal. 4. 6.

† Compare *Exod.* 19. 5, 6. *Deut.* 7. 6. and 14. 2. and 26. 18. with 1 *Pet.* 2. 9. *Col.* 1. 13. *Rev.* 2. 9 and 5. 10. *Matt.* 24. 22.

self. They had power from the Devil (as *John* plainly saith, *Rev.* 13. 14. and 16. 4.) to work Signs and Wonders in the Air; to speak diverse Languages; to foretel Plagues and Storms; to tell what was done at a distance; to make Fire come down from Heaven; to vomit flames; to walk and fly in the air, and cast out Devils by a compact with *Beelzebub* their Sovereign Prince. And all these Things they did to confront the Miracles, and invalidate the Authority of the Apostles, and confirm this Anti-christian Doctrine, which was a Contradiction to their Gospel, that *Jesus* was not Christ. For this reason they are called in the fore-cited Places Anti-christ, and false Prophets, and there were very many of them, both *Jews* and *Gentiles*, as *Simon* called *Magus*, *Elymas* the Sorcerer, the seven Sons of *Sceva* the *Jew*, and many more not mentioned in the Scriptures, as *Barchozab*, and *Apollonius Thyaneus*, who aped our Saviour, as *Pharaoh's* Sorcerers imitated *Moses*, in as many Miracles as he could do, and as the Prince of all the Devil's Apostles, and the greatest Magician that ever deceived the world.

God therefore in Compassion to the state of the Primitive Church inspired the Governments in all places with a supernatural Sagacity to discern these *Satanical* Spirits, and distinguish their Works from those of the Spirit of God, one of the principal Rules, which the Discerners

corners of Spirits gave to the Church whereby to try the Spirits, was this: That every Spirit, which wrought Miracles to prove that *Jesus* was the Christ, was of God; but every Spirit, that wrought wonders to prove, that he was not Christ, or that another was the Christ, was a lying Spirit, that Spirit of Antichrist, which our Saviour foretold his Disciples should come, and which was in the World in the Time of *S. John*, as you may read in the place I cited before, as also in his 2 Epistle ver. 7. Conformably to this *S. Paul* in the verse before my Text, lays down the same infallible Rule, that no Man that calleth *Jesus* Anathema, as many Infidels and Apostates did, can speak by the Spirit of God. Another Rule whereby to try the Spirits was Submission, and Obedience to the Governours of the Church. *We are of God* (saith *S. John* 1 Epistle. 4. 6.) *he that knoweth God heareth us he that is not of God heareth not us: hereby we know the spirit of truth, and the spirit of error* And *If any man among you* (saith *S. Paul*, 1 Cor. 14. 37.) *pretend to be a Prophet or inspired by the Holy Ghost, as a sign that he is truly so, let him acknowledge, that the things I write unto you are the Commandments of God.* I question not, but they had other Tests besides these by which to try the Spirits, as that every Spirit which wrought Signs to confirm any Doctrine, which was inconsistent with a pure and peaceable Life, or the sober Use, and Rules of

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Moral Reason, must needs be a diabolical Pseudo-prophetical Spirit, as I think I could demonstrate, if I had but time.

From whence I come to speak of the Two last kinds, viz. of the * *Gift of Tongues*, and which was as wonderful as that, the Gift of *Interpreting* thereof. To the understanding of which be pleased to take notice that in giving Spiritual Gifts, God gave to every Man in † kind and degree according to his Measure, what was fittest for him, and what he could best bear. And therefore, tho' one inspired in the Congregation with the Gift of Tongues always understood what he spoke, yet he always || was not able to interpret what he had delivered; for which Reason the Spirit * revealed to another, who stood by, and understood not the Inspired Tongue, the Matter which the Inspired Oracle had spoken therein. Some had strength enough † to perform both,

* Ο μὲν τῇ Περσῶν, ὁ δὲ τῇ Ῥωμαίων, ὁ δὲ τῇ Ἰνδῶν, ὁ δὲ ἑτέρα πνὶ πιαύτη εὐθεῶς ἐφθέγγετο γλώσσῃ. Chrysost. in 1 Epist. ad Cor. 12. cap. Hom. 29.

† Ἐι γὰρ οἶδας, ὅπ' ἀπὸ κηδεμονίας ἐχαίσατο, καὶ τὸ μέτρον ἔδωκε, σέεργε καὶ χαῖρε πρὸς ὧν ἔλαβες, μὴ δὲ δυσχεραίνε ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐκ εἰήφρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁμολόγηι χάριν, ὅπ' μὴ μείζονα ἔλαβες τῆς δυνάμεως, τῆς σῆς— Ὡς δὲ συμφέρειν αὐτῷ τὸ δαδέν μέτρον, καὶ ἑλαττον εἶναι— Φειδόμενός σου; καὶ τὸ λυσιτελέες σοι σκοπῶν; τὸ γὰρ μείζον λαβεῖν ἢ τὴν δυνάμεινον ἐνεγκεῖν, τὸτο καὶ ἀσύμφορον, καὶ βλάβην ἔχει, &c. Chrysost. in 1. Ep. ad Cor. cap. 12. Hom. 29.

|| Ο μὲν γὰρ ἡ δὲ τὸ π' ἔλεγει αὐτὸς, ἐτέρῳ δὲ ἐρμηνεύσαι ἐκ ἰδύνατο. Chrysost. ibid. * 1 Cor. 14. 4, 28.

† 1 Cor. 14. 13. Ο δὲ καὶ ἀμφοτέρω ταῦτα χαρίσματα ἐκείνη οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ τῶν δαδέρων. Chrysost. in 1 Cor. 12. 10.

but

but more commonly one of them was enough for one Person at one time; and though to speak in a strange Tongue was counted the more noble Gift, because it was given to the Apostles; yet the Apostle in the 14th Chapter, prefers the Gift of Interpreting before it, because it was more useful, and profitable for the Church.

These are the miraculous Gifts of the Holy Ghost, which as it appears from the 28. *ver.* of this *chap.* God gave to the Difference of Ministeries, or Ministers, *i. e.* to the *Apostles, Prophets, Teachers, Helps* and *Governments* of the Primitive Church. To the *Teachers, i. e.* to the more profound and solid sort of Doctors, who answered to the *Scribes* in the Synagogue, and wholly devoted themselves to Preach, and expound the Scriptures, which was an excellent Gift, or Talent, and always esteemed the most useful way of Instruction (especially of the * *Jews*) in the Primitive Christian Church. To the *Helps, i. e.* to the Helpers or Assistants, such as the Evangelists were to the Apostles, as *Silas* to *Paul*, *Mark* to *Barnabas*, or such as the Deacons were to the Bishops, and Presbyters, and the whole Church. And they are called Helps by an Hebraism in *Greek*, as the † *Levites* were

* Luke 23. 27. Acts 2. 67. *ch.* 28. 23.

† Deacons called Levites, *Clem. ad Cor.* 40.—Καὶ Ἀδελφὰς ἰδοὺ Διακονίαν ἐπ' ἐκείναις.

led in the Jewish Church and Language, *לכדן במסערי* helps to the Priests. By Govern-
 mts are to be understood Governours, in the Hellenistical Style the Abstract is
 en put for the Concrete, according to the custom of the Hebrew, and Syriack Tongues,
 and by Governours are meant the Apostles and Bishops, to whom the Gift of discerning Spi-
 rit seems to have belonged in a peculiar man-
 ner, because the Word κυβερνησις, which is here
 used for Government, is used by the Septua-
 gint to render the Hebrew Word Tachbuloth,
 which signifies discerning Wisdom, Prudence,
 Counsel, wherein the Spirit of Government
 doth consist. Thus in the first of Proverbs,
 1. 5. where we say, A Man of understanding
 shall attain unto wise counsel, the Septuagint
 renders it, ὁ νοήμων κυβερνήσων κληθήσεται, a Man of under-
 standing shall attain unto Government. The
 same may be seen Prov. 11. 14. and 14. 6.
 There were other miraculous Gifts under
 the New Testament, which are not mentioned
 in this Chapter, and which though properly
 making they did not proceed from the Holy
 Spirit, yet in a large sense may be called spi-
 ritual Gifts. These were the Voice from Hea-
 ven, which the Jews called Bath-col, and the
 appearance of Angels, those Holy Messengers

So Rev. 2. 2. The Angel of the Church of Ephesus is
 commended for trying them, which say they are Apostles,
 and are not.

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of God, and Ministring Spirits, who sometimes acted as God's Vicegerents, and * affirmed his Person in speaking to Men. But the Apostle take no notice of them here, because they were not intrinfecal, and inhered Gifts, yet I thought fit to mention them because they were extraordinary, and relate some Passages in the following part of the Discourse.

Thus having given you an Account of the Number and Diversities of these Gifts of the Holy Ghost, together with the difference of *Ministeries* to which they belong'd, I proceed in the Third Place to shew the Reasons why they were given by God to the Primitive Churches, and not to the Churches of later Times.

Now this Reason is to be taken from the Wants and Necessities of the Primitive Church whose *Infant-State* required, that God should assist her with the Miraculous Gifts of the Spirit, till the Gospel was sufficiently Preached about the Empire; the Scriptures of the *Old Testament* compleated; the Temple-Worship abolished among the *Jews*; Idolatry destroyed among the *Gentiles*, and both were united together under Christ into one Communion the Catholick Church. It had been impossible

* Galat. 3. 19. Hebr. 2. 2.

God to bring to pass all these stupendious Things, in a Way consistent with his own Wisdom, and the Freedom of humane Nature, without making use of these, or other fitting Means, as wonderful as these, to publish the Gospel, and confirm the Truth thereof. How should the *Jewish* and *Gentile* World have believed without Apostles and * Apostolical Preachers? And how should the Apostles and Evangelists have preached, unless they had been inspired? For their Saviour left them like Orphans, or rather like Scholars of the third Class, before he had revealed all the Gospel unto them, and therefore it was necessary for God to send his Spirit, the Comforter, to supply his Place among them, to build upon the Foundation which he had laid, and discover the Word of Wisdom in as ample manner unto them, as they were to Preach it about the World. And then because they were illiterate Men, that knew no Languages but their own, it was requisite for him to give them, and their Assistants the Gift of *strange Tongues*, that they might freely converse with Men of all Countries and Provinces, and Preach the Gospel through all the World.

But then as the Spirit qualified them by infused Divinity and Languages to preach: So was it requisite for him to confirm the Truth of their Doctrine by Signs and Wonders, as

* 2 Cor. 8. 23. Phil. 2. 25.

by giving them Power to silence Oracles, and rebuke Magical Spirits, to cast out Devils, heal the Sick, raise the Dead, and demonstrate his special Presence in Christian Assemblies by sending his Spirit upon private Men and Idiots, and in particular by enabling them to speak in strange Tongues, which by Reason of the rapturous Way in which they were inspired, they could not interpret to the Congregations, in which they spoke. This manner of speaking in unknown Tongues is different from that which I mentioned a little before. For the former Way of speaking was given to the Apostles and Evangelists, not so much for a Sign, as to enable them to instruct Foreign Nations in the Faith, and it was either a permanent Gift, or if it were not, it always came upon them in a calm and gentle manner, in so much that they were perfect Masters of their own Understandings, and could freely converse with the People to whom they spoke.

But the use of the latter was principally *Signal, or Testimonial*, like other Miracles, and came upon the People, as well as the Ministers, and that in such a rapturous Enthusiastical Manner, that though they understood their † own Inspirations, yet they were not able to interpret them to the Church, and therefore to this Gift was usually annexed the

* 1 Cor. 14. 22. † 1 Cor. 14. 4.

more useful Gift of interpreting Tongues, of which I spoke before.

All these Miracles are called the Testimony of the Spirit, particularly, *Heb. 2. 4.* God the Father of the Spirit is said to have *born the Apostles Witness, with Signs, and Wonders, and divers Miracles and Gifts of the Holy Ghost.* Whether we may also refer the *Word of Knowledge*, or the Gift of Prophecy properly so called, to which of all the Unctions of the Holy Ghost as a particular Sign to the *Jews*, that the Christians were also the Children of Promise, upon whom the Spirit of Prophecy came. But when it was requisite for them upon other Accounts, because the Discovery of Things secret, and remote, and the Prediction of future Events was frequently necessary for the preservation of the Christians, and preventing imminent danger to the Church. Thus *Abas* signifying by the Spirit, that there should be a great Dearth throughout all the world, *i. e.* all * *Judæa*, the Disciples at Antioch determined before-hand to send Relief to their Brethren in *Judæa* by the Hands of *Barnabas* and *Paul*. So an Angel was sent to *Paul* to assure him, that he should be brought before *Cæsar*, and that God would save all the lives in the Ship for his sake. By which Revelation he was enabled both to encourage and

direct the Sea-men, who had otherwise given up all in Despair. Hither I may also refer the Prediction of our Lord, *Matth. 24. 15,* and *16 Verses*, which the believing *Jews* remembering, when *Gallus* so providentially raised the Siege of *Jerusalem*, immediately went out of it, and fled to the Mountains, in so much, that when *Titus* some Months after besieged the City, there was not one Christian in the * Place.

Furthermore, The Spirit of Preaching, Praying, and Praising God by Inspiration or Prophecy improperly so called, was requisite for the State of the Primitive Christian Church, for by this the Circumcision was also convinced, that *God was no respecter of Persons*, when they saw to their Astonishment that on the Gentiles also were poured out the Gifts of the Holy Ghost. This was the Reason why the Apostles did by Solemn Prayer and Imposition of Hands conferr these and other Gifts of the Holy Ghost upon *Baptized Gentiles*, to convince the *Jews*, that the Christian Religion was to be Catholick, and that Christ was the Saviour of no less than the whole World. Furthermore, they were necessary to confirm the Faith, and warm Devotion of the Newly Converted Christians who were very apt through the Delusion

* *Ensch. Eccl. Hist. l. 3. c. 5.*

Hereticks, and Satanical Spirits to Apostatize and renounce Christ, as likewise to convince the Jewish and Gentile Unbelievers, whom Curiosity brought to the Christian Assemblies, that God was in them, and among them for a Truth. Lastly, As S. * Clement, who was S. Paul's Fellow-work-man, assures us in his first Epistle to these Corinthians, who were so rich in spiritual Gifts, these and other Gifts were sent upon the People as Divine Indications to the Apostles, whom they should Ordain Bishops, and Presbyters and Deacons for the Cities and Countries which should be converted to the Faith. So the Apostles directed the Disciples to look out among themselves Seven Men of honest Report, and full of the Holy Ghost, whom they might ordain Deacons. And S. Paul in his first Epistle to Timothy 4. 14. charged him not to neglect the Gift of the Priesthood, which was given him by Prophecy, and the Imposition of his Hands. And accordingly Eusebius out of Clemens Alexandrinus reports of S. John, that he took Men to ordain Bishops of the Asiatick Churches, τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος σημαινομένων, from among those who were signalized with spiritual Gifts. Agreeable to which || S. Paul told

* Κατὰ χώρας ἔν, καὶ πόλεις κηρύσσοντες καθίστανον τὰς ἀπαρ-
τὰς αὐτῶν δοκιμάσαντες τῷ πνεύματι εἰς ἐπισκόπους, καὶ Διακόνους
τῶν μελλόντων πρεσβεύειν, 43: vid. & 44.

† Calvin Instit. l. 4. cap. 3. & in locum.

|| Acti 20. 28.

their Predecessors, that the Holy Ghost had set them over the Flock.

Lastly, Because it was impossible to govern the Church more than other Societies and Bodies Politick without sensible Punishments, God endowed the Apostles, and their Successors, with a Power of inflicting supernatural Diseases, and Death upon incorrigible Offenders, while for want of Assistance from the Secular Arm, they had not Power to make penal Laws for themselves. This supernatural Power of inflicting corporal Punishments, which usually accompanied Excommunication, made the *Apostolical Rod* as terrible as *the Pestilence that walketh in Darknes, and the Destruction that wasteth at Noon Day*. For by it Offenders were delivered up to Satan to be tormented possessed, and killed by him, who is the * ordinary Executioner of God's Judgments. And it was so inherent at that Time in the Apostolical Function for punishing of Scandals, and preserving the Unity and Order of the Church that God was pleased to second their dreadful Censures in their Absence, as well as their Presence, as upon the *incestuous Corinthian*, whom this Apostle *delivered up to Satan* in an † Ecclesiastical meeting at *Corinth*, although he was not there. And such a tender regard had God for the Order and Discipline of the Church that he concurred with the Apostles in the Ex-

* Job 2. 6. 1 Sam. 16. 14. † 1 Cor. 5. 3, 4, 5.

cution of this Power, not only against those who continued obstinately in * Incest, † Blasphemy, Heresies, and such like Sins, but against those also, that were prating malicious Schismatics, Opposers of the Bishop, and Disturbers of the Peace and Order of the Church. Such an one was *Alexander* the Copper-Smith, and *Diotrephes* in the Church of *Ephesus*, whom *S. John* assured the Church he || would remember (*i. e.* censure) when he came, for his evil Deed. We cannot imagine that our Lord, who came not to destroy Mens Lives, but save them, would have given the Apostles such a Power over Mens Lives, but in order to such a considerable end. It was necessary, that they, their Assistants, and Successors the Bishops (who are likewise called Apostles, 2 Cor. 8. 23. Gal. 1. 19. Phil. 2. 25.) should be invested with this Power to preserve their Authority as Governors, and thereby secure the Discipline and Government of the Church; which as such is a *Spiritual* and *Politick*, consisting of Magistrates and Subjects, and so ought to have its proper Laws. Therefore God, who in his infinite Wisdom would not erect a Society without Governors, would not constitute Governours without investing

1 Cor. 5. 3, 4, 5. † 1 Tim. 1. 20. 2 Tim. 2. 17. || 3. Epist. Theodor. 1 Tim. c. 3. v. 1. τὰς δὲ νῦν καλεμένους ἐπισκόπους ὁμολογῶν. And *Clemens* Bishop of Rome is cited for the Character of *Clemens* the Apostle, by *Clemens* Alexand. l. 4. Strom.

them with a sufficient Power of casting contumacious Transgressours out of their Government, thought fit in the Church's Minority to execute Judgment upon those, whom they ejected; in which Concurrence, I conceive, consisted their miraculous Power of inflicting supernatural Diseases, and Death. A Power more than Imperial, and greater than *Cæsar* could shew, which made their Ecclesiastical Subjects reverence their Persons, and dread their Displeasure, and by Consequence shews that it was put into their Hands in that Excellence, as the Sword is put into the Hand of the Secular Magistrate, that they might be a Terror to evil Doers, and assert their Spiritual Government over the Church. This is plain from the Story of *Ananias* and *Sapphira*, whose sudden miraculous Death was a Terror to the rest (for as the Text tells us, Great Fear came upon all the Church) and plainly shews that the Church was not a mere voluntary Society, nor the Apostolical Authority precarious, but the undoubted Ordinance of God.

From all which I hope it is plain that the Necessities of the primitive Church were the Reason why God gave these Gifts of the Holy Ghost to Her, and not to the Churches of later times. And this is apparently asserted by the Apostle in the 4th chap. of his Epist. to the * *Ephesians*, where after he had spoken of the

* *Chrysost.* in ep. ad Eph. c. 4. Hom. 11.

† Gifts, which our Saviour gave in different Measures to the several Ministers of the Church, to the *Apostles, Prophets, * Evangelists, || Pastors and Teachers*, saith, *That it was for the perfecting of the Saints, for the Work of the Ministry, for the edifying of the Body of Christ, till they came in the Unity of the Faith, and of the Knowledge of the Son of God unto a perfect Man, unto the Measure of the Stature of the Fulness of Christ.* From * whence it is evident, that as the Gospel increased, and the Church grew up, God, like a wise Nurse, weaned her by Degrees from these miraculous Gifts, till at last having arrived at her full Stature in Christ, he left her, as Parents leave their Children, when they are grown to be Men, to subsist without extraordinary Helps and Supplies. And therefore as the Scriptures increased, God ceased by degrees to discover the Doctrines of the Gospel by Inspiration to the Ministers of the Church, and by that time the Writings of the *New Testament* were made up, and the *Scripture-Canon* as it were sealed, the Successors of the Apostles in the Time of *Clemens, Polycarp, and Papias* (the Disciples of *St. John*) and of *Justin Martyr* pretended to no other way of Revelation, or coming to the

† Διδὸς γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς τὰ χεῖσματα ἐνπλάμψαι τὴν διακονίαν, *theophyl.* upon the Place. * Εὐαγγελιζόμενος ὡς Πέτρος καὶ Ἰωάννης. *id.* || Λέγει τὸς ἐπιτόπους — δύνασαι ὃ τὸς πρεσβυτέροις καὶ ἐπιτόποις νοῦσαι. *id.* * *August. Quest. ex Evang.*

Knowledge of the *Christian* Religion, than by the Word * of God.

And then as the Gospel began to be Preached in *Latin* and *Greek*, and Native *Romans* and *Græcians* were admitted to be Ministers of the Word, the Gift of Tongues, which was the first of the Gifts of the Spirit, began to grow useless and cease. Till at last Churches being gathered in all Provinces of the Empire, and every Nation having Ministers of its own, the Gospel was Preached without Inspiration in all Languages of the World.

The Gift of Prophecy properly so called continued somewhat longer in the Church, because in these Times of Danger, and Persecution, it was necessary for Christians (as I shewed before) to be forewarned of future Events. † *Eusebius* tells us, that *Quadratus* and ‖ *Ammias Philadelphensis* who lived in the beginning of the Second Century together with the Daughter of *Philip* (the *Apostle*) had the Gift of foretelling things to come, and cites a Passage out of the Dialogue of *Justin Martyr* with *Trypho* the Jew, wherein he asserts that Prophecy was still to be seen in the Church. *Irenæus* also lib. 2. cap. 57. reckons the Prophetical influx in Visions, and Predictions among the Spiritual Gifts, which he saith the

* *Apostolorum Successores & Discipuli sacrorum Evangeliorum libros, iis qui fidei sermonem nondum audiissent, tradebant* — *Euseb. Hist. lib. 3. c. 37. † Lib. 3. Hist. c. 37. ‖ Hist. Lib. 5. c. 17.*

Disciples in that Age received in different Measures for the Good of the Church. *Origen* also in his Seventh Book against *Celsus* mentions this among other miraculous Gifts which were then extant. But though at that Time the Prophetical Spirit was still in being, yet it was very extraordinary, and soon after ceased altogether in the Church.

We read of the Power of raising the Dead in the forecited Passage of *Irenæus*, who speaking of his own Time saith, *And now the Dead are raised, and have lived among us many Tears.* But the Gift of Healing being so beneficial to Mankind continued longer in the Church, (as is evident out of * *Cyprian*, and † *Origen*, but little or no mention is made of it after, till the latter end of the Fourth, and beginning of the Fifth Century, when God was pleased to work that and many other || Miracles at the Tombs, and by the Reliques of Martyrs, which were the last Miracles in the Church.

As for Miracles (specially so called) they also began to grow scarce about the latter end of the Second Century, after God had sufficiently sealed the Truth of the Gospel by them, and in spite of the Powers of Hell brought the World to embrace the Christian Faith. But yet because there still remained an

* *Ep. ad Donatum.* † *Lib. 1. contra Cels.* || *Chrysost. Hom. in S. Jul. Hom. 43. in S. Mach. de S. Bab. contr. Gentiles.* *Epist. 137. ad clerum, & pleb. Hippon. Chrysost. Hom. 69. com. Mart. Egypt. Aug. lib. 22. de civ. dei, c. 8. lib. 1. re-
st. cap. 23.*

* Oracle now and then to be silenced, a Pythonist to be exorcised, a Magical Spirit to be rebuked, or an insulting and blasphemous Demoniack to be dispossessed, God continued them upon these, and * such like Occasions longer in the Church, and yet they too † ceased about the beginning of the Fifth Century when || Idolatry was almost quite extinguished, and when the Church built Her Faith not on present but past Miracles, and her *Hieroms, Augustins, and Chrysostoms*, like us, were not inspired, but studied Divines.

As for the Gift of *Praying, and Preaching by the Spirit*, there is no mention made of it in the Ecclesiastical Writers, even where they enumerate the rest of the Spiritual Gifts. Unless * *Irenæus* comprehend it under the Gift of strange Tongues, with all sorts of which, he saith, many of the Brethren spoke in his time by the Holy Ghost. Neither need we wonder that there is no further Account to be found of it out of the Apostles Writings, since the Christians might learn what to pray for

* *Apollo* gave Oracles in *Daphne* the pleasant Suburbs of *Antioch*, in the Time of *Constantius*, and *Julian* the Apostate. *Chrysost.* de *S. Babylâ Mart. contra Gentiles*.

* As upon the Building of the Temple by the Jews in *Julian's* Time. *Naz.* 2. in *vect. contra Julian.* *Marcell.* lib. 2.

† *Aug.* contra *Manich.* & de *ver. relig.* lib. 1. retract. c. 1.

|| Εἰ ὁ λέγει περὶ καὶ τὸν εἶναι πόλεις τὴν ἰσὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν ἐπιδεικνύμεναι περὶ τὴν τῶν εἰδώλων μαρίαν, πρῶτον μὲν εὐαγγελιστὰς καὶ ὀλίγας ἔρει. *Chrysost.* de *S. Babylâ*.

* *Lib.* 2. cap. 57. *Euseb. Hist.* Lib. 5. cap. 7.

and how, out of the Scriptures, which are an excellent Rule of Devotion, as well as Faith, and since that Gift was also rendred uselefs by the † early general Use of Liturgies, wherein the Church made Offices for the Sacraments, for the Ordination of Bishops, Priests and Deacons, for the Catechumeni, the Penitents, and possessed Persons, and Supplications and Prayers, and Intercessions, and giving of Thanks for all Men, for Kings and all that were in Authority in a good and acceptable manner through the Name of the only Mediator betwixt God and Man, the Man Christ Jesus.

Thus expired these miraculous Gifts of the Spirit, the actual Communication and Exercise of which the Apostle in the 7. *ver.* of this *chap.* calls *the manifestation of the Spirit*, and saith, that they were given to every Man *προς τὸ συμφέρον*, for for the Benefit and Advantage of the Church. But as the Church grew up from an Infant to her full Stature in Christ, so they grew uselefs, till at last some sooner, some later, they were quite taken away. This *St. Paul*, who could do all Miracles, foretold in the 13th. *chap.* of this Epist. wherein he exhorts the *Corinthians* to covet the saving rather, than the miraculous Graces of the Spirit, because these should, but those should never fail. Charity (saith he) is a Gift that never faileth, but other Gifts shall, for whe-

† *Cassand. Liturg. Dr. Ham.* View of the New Directory.

ther there be * Prophecies they shall fail, or whether there be * Tongues they shall cease, or whether there be Knowledge it shall vanish away. For we know, what we know by Revelation, but in part, and we Propheſie by Inspiration but in part, but when the perfect Knowledge of the Christian Religion, or the perfect State of the Church is come, then that which is imperfect and obſcure ſhall be done away. Even as when I was a Child, I † ſpake as a Child, I || underſtood as a Child, I thought and conceived Things as a Child, but when I became a Man, and to the full uſe of my Reason, I put away childiſh Conceptions and Things. For now we ſee Divine Revelations as the Prophets did of old, in a dark Enigmatical manner, and by Symbolical Representations of Things upon the Fancy as in a glaſs, but then in the adult State of the Church, we ſhall ſee them after the *Mosaical* manner in a more rational way, and more accommodate to Humane Nature, as it were face to face. Now I know them imperfectly, but then I ſhall know them clearly, even as I am known. To conclude, there are Three permanent Gifts, Faith, Hope, and Charity; but the moſt excellent of theſe is Charity.

* *Si enim Prophetiæ, & linguæ ſunt propter ſuſceptionem fidei, fide undique explicatâ, tanquam ſuperflua ceſſabunt in præſenti, maximè autem in futuro.* Theoph.

† *Dicit ἐλάλουν tanquam ad linguas referat. id. || Hoc ad prophetias referre videtur. id.*

Having

Having thus discoursed First of the kinds of Spiritual Gifts, and Secondly of the Number and Variety of that miraculous sort, which is understood in my Text, and having in the Third place shewed the Reasons, which moved God to give them to the Primitive Church, and not to the Churches of later Times, I proceed in the last Place to make some improvement of the whole Discourse.

First then I desire you to reflect on the Difference betwixt the Saving, and Miraculous Gifts of the Spirit, and then to consider how much more excellent and desirable the former are than the latter, and how much rather you ought to covet these than those, although they were extant yet in the Church. As for these, they neither supposed any saving Grace in the gifted Person, nor brought any along with them, nor drew any after them, but as *S. Chrys.* compares them to Riches, so like Riches they tempted Men to † Pride, Vanity, and Contempt of their Governours, as also to Envy, and hate one another, so that this Apostle was fain to make use of the same Dialogue, to allay the Envy of some, and the Grief of other *Corinthians* (who had none, or not so many, or not such Spiritual Gifts, or not to such a degree as others had) as *Me- dius Agrippa* did to appease the Commons of

1 Cor. 12. Hom. 29. † Chrys. in Eph. 4. Hom. 11. Clem. 1 Cor. 12. 1. || Theoph. on 1 Cor. 12. 1.

Rome, by comparing the Body Politick of the Church to the natural Body; which cannot be all Head, Hand, or Eye, but hath several Members, some more honourable than the other, and all conspire to the good of the whole. Nay, so inconsiderable are these Gifts in themselves, and so unprofitable to any Christian, as to his main Concern, that * like the Sun and Rain, they were given to good and bad, and when they were given to a true good Christian they could not secure him in a State of Grace, for they could not restrain these *Corinthians* from many grievous Sins with which the Apostle chargeth them, nor as it appears from *Heb. 6. 4, 5, 6. Verses*, keep others from a final Apostasie from Christ. This I suppose, was the Reason, why our Saviour when his Disciples returned with Joy, saying *Lord, even the Devils are subject unto us in thy Name*, answered them thus: † *Rejoice not in this that the Devils are subject unto you, but rather rejoice that your Names are written in the Book of Life.* To the same purpose speaketh the Apostle to the vain *Corinthians*, who valued themselves so much upon the Account of their Spiritual Gifts. || Though, saith he, I could

* *Respons. ad quest. 5. ad Orthodox. in Justin Mart. August. Serm. Domini.*

† *Luke 10. 17, 18, 19, 20. Aug. in Psal. 130.*

|| *Aug. tract. 13. in Evang. Joh. Qui habet sponsam sponsum*
Cyprian. de unit. Eccles. *Nam & prophetare, & demonia*
cludere, & virtutes magnas in terris facere, sublimis atque,
admirabilis res est, non tamen regnum caeleste consequitur quod
in his omnibus invenitur, si non, &c.

not only speak with all the Tongues of Men,
 but express my Thoughts like Angels, and
 have not Charity, I should be no better than a
 Musical Instrument of Brass, or a tinkling
 Cymbal. And though I had the Gift of Pro-
 phesying, and understood all Mysteries, and
 all Knowledge revealed unto me, and
 though I had the highest degree of miraculous
 Power, so that, as our Lord said, I could re-
 move Mountains, and yet had no Charity
 with them, I should be good for nothing, nor
 come in the least more acceptable to God.
 The Tongues of Men or Angels, to speak in
 the Apostles Phrase, could have said nothing
 more plain or emphatical to shew how much
 more excellent the saving Graces of the Spirit
 are than the miraculous Gifts, which can nei-
 ther render us like God, nor qualify us for the
 Employment of him, and which gave no intrin-
 sic Worth to the Persons who formerly had
 none, nor made them more useful for the
 Church than acquired Gifts, which are the or-
 dinary Means of Faith and Repentance, make
 no Difference. Suppose thou knewest the Gospel, like
 the Apostles, by Inspiration, what then? A
 Minister, who knows it by reading and
 Study, is as capable to serve the Church as
 he; and besides if thou art, like a vain *Corin-*
thian, ambitious of Inspiration, know that it
 adds nothing to the Reputation of thy
 Office, for an inspired Man is but the Vessel to
 contain the Treasure, the very Instrument and Machine

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of

of the Holy Ghost, who can ordain Strength out of the Mouths of Babes and Sucklings and make a Child, or an Idiot, preach as well as thee.

Or suppose thou hadst the Spirit of Prophecy, what then? The Knowledge of things past being as excellent in it self, and generally more useful to the World than the Knowledge of Things to come, the Historian would have as much to boast of as thee. Nay, Historical Knowledge hath the Advantage above the Prophetic, not only in this, that it is more clear and distinct, but that it extends a great deal farther, for the greater Face of *Janus* hath long been set behind, to signifie unto us, that the World is grown old, and that many more Ages are gone than are to come. But it is an Honour to be a Minister of the Gospel, to be a Servant of *Jesus Christ*; but if thou knewest the Burden and Pangs of * Propheticall Vision and the Terror of Propheticall Dreams, thou would'st, like some of the greatest Prophets of old, desire God to conferr that Honour on some other Man.

But thou wouldest have the Gift of Healing why so? Is it that thou would'st take Pleasure in doing Good? For the same Reason thou mayest wish, that all thy Fish-Ponds were Pools of *Bethsaida*, or that thou hadst all the Riches of *Chanaan*.

* *Dan.* 10. 8. *Gen.* 15. 12. *Ezek.* 3. 14. *Isa.* 21. 3. *Jerem.* 23. 9.

of the World; but if thou hast but Christian Charity, and lovest thy Neighbour, *i. e.* Mankind, as well as thy self, thou art as excellent a Christian, and as acceptable to God, as if thou wert an inspired *Æsculapius*, and hadst cured all the Hospitals in the World. Or what if thou hadst this wonderful beneficial Gift? Thou hast contributed nothing to the giving of it, for the Bones of *Elisba*, and of the * *Milan Martyrs* had that, as well as thee. But perhaps thou hast a Mind to the Gift of Tongues? What if thou hadst it? An acquired Linguist would do the Church as much Service as thee, and would really have more Reason to boast of his Learning, for God can make an Ass, and Timber and Stones speak Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. But if thou couldst do Miracles: What if thou couldst? *Hereticks* have done them, and *As* did them, and yet was the worst of phetys, and many shall say unto me in that Day, on for! Lord! have we not prophesied in thy name, and in thy Name done many wonderful Healings? And then will I profess unto them, I knew you, depart from me ye Workers of son city. ere thou art a Minister, and would'st fain by Inspiration, why so? Not out of *Pharian* Vanity and Ostentation; for then

*Evastus, & Protasius. Aug. lib. 2. de civ. Dei c. 8. Re-
c. 13.*

thou art a vain-glorious Man ; but because thou hast a desire to convert more Souls ; but alas thou art not sure of that, for the Words of the inspired Apostle were a Stumbling-Block unto the *Jews*, and a Scandal to the *Greeks*, even the favour of Death unto many who heard him. And the Souls of Thousands, who have heard inspired Sermons from Christ and his Apostles, and saw them also work Miracles, lie roaring now in the Flames of Hell.

But to pray by the Spirit is a most desirable Gift ; so it would be indeed if thou, like a Novice-Converts of old, knowest not *how*, *what* to pray for as thou oughtest. But thou canst cry, *Abba, Father*, without Inspiration, and thou mayest make Prayers and Supplications, and Intercessions, and giving of Thanks for all Men without Inspiration, which, if thou hadst, it would not make thy Prayers more excellent in themselves, or more acceptable in the Sight of God. For whosoever hath a devout Soul, and approaches God with that reverence which is due to his infinite Majesty, and heartily asks, what he would obtain in the Name of *Jesus* Christ, his conceived Son, his *Book* Devotion shall prevail as much at his Throne of Grace, as if it were inspired. inspired Prayers are a Testimony of Love ? So generally speaking I believe they were, but so are Crosses and Afflictions (which immediately proceed not from our own Sin or Folly) and yet thou art not desirous of

* Heb.
† Cur
non sunt
deret mu
ia, ut c
cedente,
alt

though they are Signs of Adoption or public Testimonials, by which God hath declared to his Church, (which he never did of inspired Persons) that * afflicted Men are not bastards, but Sons. From all which it appears how much more excellent and desirable the moving Graces of the Spirit are, than all these pompous miraculous Gifts, in which there is really no intrinsecal Excellence, nothing why we should desire or expect them further, than as they may be useful for the Church, Instruments of Religion, and Motives to Faith and Repentance in defect of ordinary Means, and acquired Gifts. All which I would have those especially to consider, whose Enthusiastical Tempers or Educations encline them first to admire, and then to conceit these miraculous Gifts, till by insensible Degrees they impose upon their own Imaginations, and commence within themselves illuminated Men.

Secondly, I proceed to shew what little Reasons the *Romish* Doctors have to make *Miracles a sign of the true Church*. For Miracles were formerly wrought for Signs to confirm the Authority of the Apostles, and their Assistants and Successors, and to seal the Truth of that New Doctrine, which they

* Heb. 12. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

† *Cur (inquiunt) nunc illa miracula, quæ predicatis facta esse, non sunt? Possem quidem dicere necessaria fuisse prius quàm crederet mundus ad hoc, ut crederet mundus; quisquis adhuc prodigia, ut credat, inquit, magnum est ipse prodigium, qui, mundo credente, non credit.* August. de civ. Dei, lib. 22. cap. 8.

were to preach about the World. Therefore, to suppose that the Church stands always in need of Miracles is to suppose her to be still in a State of Minority, and her Doctrine to be always a publishing to the World, or else to suppose, that infinite Wisdom may become impertinent, and seal the same Truths, Ten Thousand times over. Indeed, as they argue, in the Church of the *Jews*, there were always Miracles to be found, because their *Theocratical* Constitution of Church and State was miraculous, God as their King being obliged to make known his Pleasure in Civil and Military, as well as in Ecclesiastical Matters unto them by *Voices from Heaven, Oracles, and Prophecies* (as other Princes do by Proclamations and Messages) and their Prophets were always to work Signs and Wonders to prove the Truth of their Mission, and sometimes the Certainty of what they foretold should come to pass. But then besides the Miracles, which belonged to the Nature of their *Theocratical* Government, God wrought others for them, and among them, to render himself, and that particular Church more conspicuous in the Eyes of the *Gentile* World. Hither we may referr their miraculous Victories by single Men, or Armies over their Enemies, which God wrought, to convince them by sensible Experiments of his Omnipotence, that of all the *Divinity* of the Eastern World he alone was the true God. But had the *Law*
been

been published among all Nations, like the Gospel, and *Judaism* become the Universal Religion of the World, Miracles at length would have grown out of use, as indeed they grew very rare after the *Jews* were dispersed among the Nations, and their Law was translated into *Greek*, which at the Time of the Translation was become the most general Language of the World.

Thirdly, I proceed to shew you how unreasonably the Church of *Rome* hath acted in verifying the Fanatical Pretensions of so many gross Impostors and Enthusiasts as she hath done to Inspiration; Prophecy; Visions; Dreams; familiar Converses with God, and the glorified Person of our Saviour; working of Wonders; Communion with Saints, and Angels; Raptures, Impulses, and all other sorts of miraculous Gifts, that we read of in the Primitive Church. Such as these were *Dominic*, *Francis of Assize*, *Francis of Pole*, *Francis Xaverius*, *Ignatius* the Founder of the *Jesuits*, *Genieveve*, *Tiresia*, *Catharin of Siena*, *Triget*, and many more of both Sexes, whom she hath not only Canonized for Saints, but to the great Scandal of the *Christian* Religion hath incorporated Religious Societies of Men and Women to live according to their pretended inspired Rules. For which not only the Common People, and the Brethren, and Sisters of the Orders, but their Learned Doctors

pretend to have as great, (and, it may be, a greater) Veneration, than for the Gospel itself.

Fourthly, I proceed to shew you what a sandy Foundation the Pope's Infallibility is grounded upon. For it must be resolved into this Enthusiastical Principle of immediate Inspiration, which according to the Doctrine I have now Preached, neither he, nor any other *Bishop*, or *Presbyter* of the Church, hath warrant from the Scriptures to pray for, or expect. I say it is a most dangerous, and fanatical Pretension, which is so far from having any ground in Scripture, that it makes it a most imperfect and useless Rule of Faith, destroys the Certainty of the *Christian Belief*, which was fixed above Sixteen Hundred Years ago, and instead of being a Means of ending Controversies, as Papists pretend, it introduces everlasting Scepticism into all the Parts of Divinity, by making Truth and Falshood, Good and Evil, Light and Darkeness, Sweet and Bitter, nay what shall I say? By making Right and Wrong, God and *Belial*, Christ and Antichrist depend upon the Breath of a single Man.

In the Fifth Place, Let me shew you what a dangerous, damnable, and precarious Principle that is, which asserts, that immediate Revelation, or Inspiration is not ceased, but is a standing and perpetual Gift in the Church

of Christ, belonging to the very Substance of the Gospel-Covenant, and of indispensable Necessity to the whole Body, and every Member thereof. And that this Spirit of immediate Revelation or spiritual Light, is not, like the *Spirits* in Primitive Times, to be tryed by the * Scriptures and Reason, but that both of them are to be tryed by it. This Doctrine differs from the preceding only in this, that that makes only the Bishop of *Rome*, but this makes every private *Christian* a Pope, and as it utterly overthrows the Authority of the Scriptures, and makes them an useless Rule of Faith: So hath it already cashiered the use of the Sacraments, and annulled the Ministerial Orders, contrary to the Precepts and Precedents of the Gospel, and the Practice of God's Universal Church. And when Time shall serve, it can as effectually convert the Professors of it into down-right Popery consistently with their own Principles, for they have nothing more to do, than to say that the Spirit hath told them that the Church of *Rome* is the only true Church, and that *supra hanc Petram* belongs to the Pope. As this Doctrine was first privately sowed among us by Popish Emissaries, so hath it been published in our and other Countries by those, who were

* *Barclay's Theses, or Apologia Theolog.* † *Foxes and Fire-ands, pag. 15, &c.* Printed, 1680.

Papists, as by *Robert Barclay*, who was bred in the Scottish Covent at *Paris*, and *Labbade* a Jesuit defroccued.

In the next Place to mention will be sufficient to confute the *Pseudo-Prophetical* Spirits of this Age, such as *Naylor*, *Venner*, and *Muggleton*, with his Companion *Reeve*, who call themselves the Lord's Two last Witnesses and Prophets, and have framed many Tracts and Letters from *Jesus*, and the Holy Spirit, a Collection of which may be had in Print. I deny not, but that God is free to send Prophets when he pleases, and that he may do so, when the Exigence of the Church doth require it; but then whensoever he sends them, he will, as he hath always done, send them with the Power of working Signs and Wonders, and whensoever they shall come, we shall have a Right to try them by the Scriptures, as a *Test*. But for these, and the *German* Prophets, who pretended to Inspiration, and Prophecy without Signs; to Voices from Heaven, which none heard; and strange Apparitions, which none saw but themselves; and who preached other Doctrines than what the Apostle hath preached, they were Enthusiasts or Impostors, or a Composition of both, and had they first appeared in the Church of *Rome*, his Holiness had likely carested them for great *Saints* and *Prophets*, offered them the Compliment of a *New Order*, and so have obliged them, as he hath done many more by the same Arts, to devote

devote themselves to his Service, and declare him to be *Vice-Deus, Vice-Christus*, a God upon Earth, the Sovereign both of Angels and Men.

In the next place let me observe unto you, that among all the *miraculous Gifts of the Spirit* recited either in this Chapter, or any other place of the Gospel, there is no mention made of *Heroical impulse*, by which Men were sometimes irresistibly moved from the Spirit, under the *Jewish Oeconomy* to execute Judgment in an extrajudicial manner upon the Enemies of God. For God being the * *Political King*, and Legislator of the *Jews*, did as other absolute Monarchs do, in some special exigencies send Men with extraordinary *Supera-legal Commissions* to do present Execution upon great and dangerous Offenders without paying for the ordinary Process by Law. But our Saviour, one end of whose coming was to put an † end to the *Jewish Oeconomy*, and who *came not to destroy mens lives, but to save them*, gave no such Gifts unto Men. No, there is to be no *fire from Heaven*, nor no *inebas's* under the Christian Dispensation. Accordingly the first Apostolical Ages of women were utterly ignorant of *killing impulse*, zeal, which I could not but observe to the Detestation of *Christian Assassins*, the

Isa. 33. 22. Ezek. 20. 11. Numb. 31. 28, 37. 40. 1 Chron. 1. † Eph. 2. 14. Dan. 9. 26, 27. Acts 10. 34, 35.

Clements,

Clements, and *Ravilliacs* on one Hand, and the * *Melvils*, and *Mitchels* on the other.

To proceed, Let us a little more particularly reflect upon that blasphemous Doctrine of the *Quakers*, (now by the Industry of the Emissaries no contemptible Sect) concerning a *Spiritual Ministry*, and *Spiritual Worship*, whereby they pretend that the Holy Ghost now comes down upon their Assemblies, as it did in the Apostles Time, and moves them to preach and pray by Inspiration without any regard to Condition or Sex. Hence when they meet together they sit hanging their Heads in a silent dumb manner, till the Spirit, as they pretend, shall move some Body, it is indifferent be it Man or Woman, to preach or pray. Accordingly they call their Preaching, *Propheying*, and precariously say that they have the *Spirit of Adoption*, *which they call God Father*, and that the Spirit in the Inspired Minister *maketh Intercession for them with unutterable groans*. That they groan sufficiently, we grant, for sometimes in their Meetings they do nothing else; but their Groaning, or vocal Devotions be from the Spirit, how comes it to pass, that the Spirit never moves them, as it did in the Apostles Days, to Pray and Prophecie in unknown Tongues? When we shall see in their Assemblies, as the unbelieving *Jews* and *Gentiles*

|| *Knox's History*, *Ravilliac redivivus*, and the History of the late Arch-bishop of St. Andrews his Murder in the Story of Popery.

in the Primitive Christian Meetings, that they have the gift of Tongues, and the gift of interpreting thereof; when together with the gift of Tongues, we shall see that they have, as the Christians had, all the other miraculous gifts; when we shall see that they shew themselves to be *Prophets, and Spiritual* in receiving what this Apostle hath written (in particular, *that a Woman should not speak in the Church,*) *as the Commandments of God,* and lastly, when with all this they shall preach no other Doctrine, than what the Apostle hath preached, and the Catholick Church received, then we will believe, if they be lawfully baptized, that *it is the spirit which is speaking in them, and that God is in them and among them of a truth*, but till then we must believe them all to be Impostors, or Enthusiasts, and Blasphemers of the Holy Ghost.

Therefore in the next Place let us consider what an horrible Sin it is to counterfeit any of the Gifts of the Holy Ghost, in particular the *Spirit of Praying and Preaching*, which, with the *Gift of Faith*, as it is taken for *inspired Courage and Boldness*, is most easie to be counterfeited of all the spiritual Gifts. But first let us make some Reflection on the pretenders to the *Spirit of Praying and Preaching*, under whom I comprehend, not only those whom I mention'd above, but another sort of *Spiritual Juglers*, who when they are ashamed to talk, like the lowest Form of Enthusiasts, in a plain
Fanatical

Fanatical Strain, and so apparently Blaspheme the Holy Ghost, yet invent such uncouth ambiguous Terms in Divinity, and so artificially contrive the Style and Phrase of their Religious Discourses, as to beget an Opinion in their Followers, that they pray and preach by Inspiration, and so besides the Dishonour they reflect on the Christian Religion and the Holy Ghost, maintain the Schisms which they have made, under the Colour of more spiritual Ordinances and Worship, and sacrilegiously usurp that specifick Veneration to themselves, which was wont to be given to inspired Men. One equivocal Phrase which is commonly in the Mouths and Writings of these Sanctimonious Men, is the *Spirit of Preaching*, and the *Spirit of Prayer*, which, though by an *Hebraism* in *English*, they ought now to signifie no more than the Skill, or Habit of Praying and Preaching, yet these Sophisters and Usurpers (for so most of them are) of our Holy Profession, so use them, that the deluded People generally take them in a more obvious Sense for Praying and Preaching by immediate Inspiration from the Holy Ghost. To this purpose they talk much of the *In-comings*, *Out-Lettings*, and *In-Dwellings* of the Spirit, and have taught their Disciples to object, that to *pray by a Form doth stint the Spirit*, and by these, and other like Phrases, whereof store may be found in *Rutherford's Letters*, and the Writings of the *Independents*, not to mention any more, they have

have made their Followers take it for granted, that extemporary Prayers, especially as they are spoken and acted by them, are the effect of Inspiration, and by consequence, that themselves are immediately inspired. This Error concerning the extemporary Spirit of Prayer, hath been the cause of much * Mischief to the Church, and of much Dishonour to the Name of God. It hath caused Men to have a mean Opinion of Forms, although our Saviour not only taught his Disciples to pray by a Form, but prayed by a Form when he hang'd upon the Cross. It hath made them reject all *Liturgies*, and *Liturgical Offices*, contrary to the Practice of God's Universal Church; nay it hath made these Spiritual Mountebanks, not only disuse the *Lord's Prayer* itself, but forbid the use of it as Superstitious, Idolatrous, and † a Papistical Charm. By this the People of these Kingdoms have been led into the most unnatural Schism and Rebellion that ever was, not to mention the later *Murders*, *Rebellions*, and *Covenants*, which the Separatists from our *Sister Church* have committed, raised and carried on by the Help of this Delusion; and they may Preach and Pray the People to what

* Concil. Milev. 2. Can. 12. *Placuit, ut preces, quæ probatae fuerint in concilio, ab omnibus celebrentur, nec alia sommino dicantur in Ecclesiâ, ne fortè aliquid contra fidem vel per ignorantiam vel per minus studium sit compositum.* See also *Con. Carth. 3. c. 23.*

† See D. Owen's Life.

they

they please, as long as they hold them Captive under this Error, which is not only inconsistent with what I have now delivered concerning the Gifts of the Holy Ghost, but contrary to the Practice of the Catholick Church, and it may be confuted, would People but reflect by the Example of the *Pharisees* among the *Jews*; and the flagitious Lives of many Christians, as of * *Basilides* the bloody Tyrant of *Muscovy*, the late *Usurper* of these Three Kingdoms, the *Founder of the Jesuits*, *Labbadé*, Major † *Weer*, and Captain *Venner*, who of all Enthusiasts or Impostors that ever pretended to Pray by the Spirit, were in this Sense the most Powerful and Eloquent, for they had *Words* and *Tears*, and *Sighs* at Command, and so bewitched the People by their rapturous spiritual-like Devotions, as to pass for Men extraordinarily inspired.

Which brings me to reflect on the Arrogance and Presumption of some sort of *Ministers*, who warranting themselves from the Promises which God made of his special Presence to the Prophets and Apostles, and the Spirit of *supernatural Courage and Confidence*, which rested upon them by virtue thereof, have treated Kings and Princes with a Counterfeit sort of Prophetical Boldness, as if God, as he spoke to the Prophet *Ezekiel*, *had harden'd their Foreheads like Flint or Adamant*, or had made them,

* *Casaub.* of Enthusiasm. † In *Ravil. rediv.*

As he told *Jeremiah* he would make him, like an *Iron-Pillar*, and *Brazen Wall* against the whole Land, both against King and Priests, and Princes and People. Hence with incomparable Rudeness and Insolence, they have, contrary to all Rules of Christian Charity, libelled and upbraided, instead of humbly reproving their King, and all under the pretence of *Preaching the Word with Boldness*, and as if God had sent them on purpose, as he sent *Nathan* to *David*, *Moses* to *Pharaoh*, or *Elijah* to *Ahab*, &c. they have called Protestant Princes *Persecutors*, *Idolaters*, and *Jeroboam's* to their faces, and told them, that God would destroy them and their House. Nay, they have presumed in God's Name to lay *civil Injunctions* and *Prohibitions* upon them and their Courts of Justice, and when the Magistrate hath commanded the People to do one thing, they have charged them to do another. With the like counterfeit Spirit of Apostolical Boldness, but of real unchristian Impudence and Railing, they have spoken even of Civil and Ecclesiastical *Dignities*, to the great Dishonour of God, and his Prophets and Apostles, who never spoke nor acted any thing by virtue of any special Mission, and the Spirit of Courage which did attend them in it, but what was consistent with Gentleness, Moderation, Humanity, Duty and Love.

In the last Place, give me leave to shew you how much some Authors have injured the Christian Religion, and abused the unlearned Part of the World, who writing the Lives of some modern *Enthusiastical Divines*, have represented them as endowed with most of these wonderful Spiritual Gifts. Those who desire to be satisfied in this Particular, may consult the Life of Dr. *Samuel Winter* * Provost in the late

* In the 9th. p. of the *Preface* the Author saith, that he saw the Sky open, and heard a Voice which said to him, that neither he, nor his should ever want; which cannot be true, for his Son went a begging, see p. 41. of the Book. In the 10th page God assured him that he should have a safe Voyage into Ireland, and convert many Souls there, see page 41. Once when he prayed for a sick Person in another Land, he had an Assurance of the Parties Recovery, by an *audible Voice*, and a glorious Brightness which shined round about him, ib. When he was a School-Boy, God (he thought) assured him by a vocal Answer that he heard his Prayer, page 2. When he was very sick he assured his Wife that he should not die, because God had not fulfilled a certain Promise which he made to him, page 4. He conversed with Angels in a Dream, and had shewed unto him the exceeding Weight of Glory, which is laid up in Heaven for God's chosen ones, page 17. He lay a whole Day in a heavenly Rapture, and desired his Wife, a Minister, and other Friends to tell him, whether he were in the Body, or out of the Body, for he could not tell, page 24. Before he prayed with Colonel Jones's Wife when she was sick, he asked her whether she had Faith to be healed? And when he had done praying he assured her she should live, page 44. His Hearers could tell by his Prayers for sick Persons, whether they should recover or not, page 47, 48. He knew the same himself, page 50. When his Wife lay under a Temptation to turn *Anabaptist*, God assured him by Prayer, that he should be quickly satisfied from Heaven, page 51. Mrs. Winter's Sister's Husband lying very sick at London, she sent to the Dr. at Dublin to pray for him, but before he could be perswaded to pray, he retired privately to know of God if he were yet alive, and after Prayer assured

ured the Company, that he should recover, page 52, 53. Once praying in Imitation of *Abraham's* Intercession for *Isaac*, as he kneeled against a Post in the Room, he saw a shining Light about him, and perfectly heard a Voice, saying, *Nations shall be spared for Ten Thousand Righteous sake*, page 54. He used to pray for Things, and have his Answer before he arose from his Knees, and immediately give Thanks thereon, page 56. He often heard Voices, when none heard but himself, according to *Acts 22. 9.* page 57.

times of *Trin. College by Dublin*, and what is written of old Mr. * *Welsb*, and other *Scottish* Ministers, In the fulfilling of the Scripture, printed 1669. From whence, not to mention other Examples, it will appear, that unless God in Mercy rebuke that Spirit of Enthusiasm, which is gone out amongst us in these three Kingdoms, we may have as many *Levites* from some sort of Protestants, as we have formerly had from the Church of *Rome*.

Whom that Author calls *the Man of God*, and saith, that *Rutherford* called him the heavenly *Prophetical and Apostolic Man of God*. He struck a Man dead upon the Place, as Peter did *Ananias and Sapphira*, with a Word, page 252. He cured one *John Steward of Aire*, who came to visit him in Prison, that the Plague of God was broken out in that Place, and bid him hasten Home, and cause *Hugh Kennedy* Provost of *Town*, to convene the People in the Streets, and pray for him, and the Lord should hear *Hugh Kennedy*, and recover that Stroke. Which (saith he) fell out in every Thing the Man of God had foretold, *ib.* At the Siege of *St. Angelo* he desired the Cannonier to discharge such a shot of Cannon, assuring him, that God should direct the shot, page 254. He astonished the King of *France* with a few words, and made him say, *Surely, this is a Man of God*, page 255.

See the Life and Death of *Mary Sympson*, of *Norwich*, by *Collins*, 1649.

There are other excellent Uses which might be made of what I have said upon this Subject.

1. Concerning the greatness of the Apostolical or Episcopal Power, as we find it exercised by this Apostle over those, who were inspired *. For by virtue of that Ecclesiastical Authority, which he and the other Apostles received from Christ, and derived upon their Successors the Bishops, he silenced the *Prophetesses*, regulated the speaking of the *Prophets*, commanded that not above two or three *inspired Linguists* should speak at one Meeting, and that not all together, but every one in his turn. But if there happened to be no Interpreter, then that they should all keep silence in the Congregation, and only speak mentally to themselves. In a Word he commanded that all Things should be done decently, regularly, and according to his Appointment. He reproved them for coveting the Gift of Tongues, and told them plainly, that if any Man thought himself a Prophet, or any other Ways inspired, he should shew himself to be such in receiving his Orders, as the Commandments of God require.

Secondly, Concerning the Usefulness of humane Learning, and the necessity of erecting Schools and Universities for the teaching thereof. For the Christian Religion cannot be supported against its Adversaries, without

* From all which it is evident that the *Spirit*, properly called, was stinted, limited, and confin'd.

mane Learning *inspired* or *acquired*. And therefore, as the Apostles, and Apostolical Preachers died, God supplied their Mortality, by calling Philosophers, and other Learned Men to the rational Defence of the Gospel against *Jews*, Heathens and Hereticks, whom the former had redargued not so much by *Words of Mans Wisdom*, as by *the Demonstration of the Spirit, and of Power*. Nay among the *Jews* themselves there were * Schools of the Prophets, in which, as the *Jewish* Writers agree, the Youth were trained up by Study and Discipline for the Reception of the Prophetical Spirit, which according to *Maimonides*, whom the *Jews* call the second *Moses*, rarely came but upon Persons so qualified and prepared. And I dare boldly say were it not for the *two Schools of the Prophets in our Israel*, that the Nation would soon be over-run with Ignorance, and Religion, quite born down with *Popery*, and other monstrous Sects among us, which have increased with the same Proportion, that human Learning hath been decried, and the *Two Universities dis-used*.

Thirdly, Concerning the Goodness and Wisdom of God: his *Goodness* in sending his Spirit with miraculous Gifts to supply the Necessities

* These Schools of Prophetical Education! were at *Naiorb* in *Ramah*, 1 *Sam.* 19. 19, 20. at *Jerusalem*, 2 *Kings* 22. 14. at *Bethel* and *Jericho*, 2 *Kings* 2. 3, 4, 5. and at *Gilgal*, 2 *Kings* 4. 38.

of his Infant Church, and his *Wisdom* in taking away these extraordinary Means, when ordinary Means were to be had. But I have been too tedious already. God grant that what I have now delivered so plainly on this Subject, may conduce to make us all have right and worthy Apprehensions of the *Christian Religion*, which however it hath suffered by some Mens Enthusiastical Notions, and Zeal, yet ingenuous and teachable Souls (and such there are among the most erroneous Sects) will easily discern from the Frame and Tenor of this Discourse, that, as it was designed by its blessed Founder, so it really is the most rational, sober, and regular Institution that he could have given to the Sons of Men.

7 AP 55

FINIS.

Peculium Dei.

A
DISCOURSE
ABOUT THE
J E W S,
AS THE
PECULIAR *People* of GOD.
IN A
SERMON

Preach'd before the Honourable
The ALDERMEN and CITIZENS
of LONDON,

On the Sixth of *February*, 16⁸⁰/₈₁.

By GEORGE HICKES, D. D. Vicar of *Allhallows-
Barkin, London*, and Chaplain to his Grace the Duke
of Lauderdale.

S. Ignat. ad Magnes.

Εἰ γὰρ μέλει νῦν κατὰ νόμον Ἰουδαϊσμοῦ ζῶμεν, ὁμολογᾶμεν
χαίειν μὴ εἰληφείηαι,

L O N D O N,
Printed for JOHN CHURCHILL, at the *Black
Swan* in *Pater-Noster-Row*, 1713.

W A R D, Mayor.

*Jovis Decimo Die Februarii, 1680. Annoque Regis
CAROLI Secundi Angl. &c xxxiii.*

UPON the Motion of Sir *John Peake*, Knight and Alderman, This Court doth desire Dr. *Hickes* to Print his Sermon Preached at the *Guild-ball-Chapel* the last Lord's-Day in the Morning.



Wagstaffe.

To the Right Honourable
Sir *PATIENCE WARD*,
LORD MAYOR of the City of LONDON;

A N D

To the Honourable Court of ALDERMEN.

MY LORD,

A *Ltho' your Lordship was not present when this Discourse was Preach'd, being hindred by your late dangerous Sickness; yet both Custom, and the Honour I have for you, oblige me to address my self to you in this Dedication, hoping that what I have here published at the Desire of your Honourable Brethren, may be as acceptable to you in the reading, as it was to them in the hearing, and profitable to all those who shall peruse it with honest and unprejudiced Minds.*

The Subject is very fruitful, and called me to say something on many Particulars, on which I could not say all; nay to state many of the more weighty Matters, which I have mentioned in it, would require as many tracts, every one of which (I conjecture) would

The Epistle DEDICATORY.

would be as big as the Sermon it self. For this Reason I have Printed it, as I spoke it, excepting Two or Three Instances under the last Observation, which I have added for the further Explication thereof.

I have also added Marginal References for the sake of those Readers, that perhaps may desire further Authority for the Proof and Illustration of many Things, which occur in the Explication of the Jewish Polity, and the other parts which follow and depend upon it.

And so hoping that this Discourse may (by God's Blessing) in some Measure contribute towards the recovering of some from those sinful Errors and Practices, which have taxed in it, and the preventing of others from falling into them; I humbly present it to the Acceptance of your Lordship and the Honourable Court, and subscribe it all Sincerity,

Your Lordship's Most Faithful
and Obedient Servant,

GEORGE HICKE

Ro

R O M. ix. 4, 5.

Who are Israelites, to whom pertaineth the Adoption, and the Glory, and the Covenants, and the giving of the Law, and the Service of God, and the Promises; whose are the Fathers, and of whom, as concerning the Flesh, Christ came.

WHosoever shall take the Pains to look into the Nature and Original of those manifold, private and publick Errors, that have contradicted the Christian Faith, or infested the Peace of Christian Churches, since the Time of the Apostles till this present Day, will find a considerable part of them to have proceeded from want of a right Understanding, or due Consideration of the *Jews*, as the *chosen and adopted People of the Lord*; whom he invested with special Privileges, and distinguished for some Ages by particular Civil and Ecclesiastical Laws, from all other Nations of the World.

They alone for a long Time were his *proper Inheritance and peculiar Treasure*; and he was pleased for their Sakes to be a respecter of persons, and stand related to the House of *Israel*, not only as their God to be worshipped Spiritual, but as their Prince and Legisla-

tor, to be served and obeyed in Temporal Causes and Affairs.

And therefore, besides the Moral Law, which they had common with Mankind, as the Sons of *Adam* and *Noah*, he sanctified them to himself by certain Ceremonial and Judicial Statutes, which he never intended should oblige any other People but themselves, and * conversed with them in such a frequent and familiar manner, as he never did with any other Nation, nor indeed can do again, unless he should prostitute his Glory to the World, and erect the Government of it into a miraculous Administration or Oeconomy, and make his Revelations by Oracles, Prophets, Angels, and Voices from Heaven, as common upon all Occasions as the Letters, Edicts, Messages, and Proclamations of Kings.

But many unsound Judaizing Christians have still dreamed, that the *Mosaick* Code was yet in Force, and have thereupon lived in strict Religious Observance of some or all the Ceremonial Precepts, and vented such Opinions as have perplexed the Consciences of ignorant and unlearned Men, and filled the Church of God with unprofitable Scruples and Doubts.

Thus the *Jewish* of old † taught the Gentile Christians, that it was necessary for Salvation to be circumcised, and keep the *Mosaick* Law, and though this Heretical *Jewish* Doctrine was

* *Lib. Cefri, Pars 1. Sect. 95.* † *Acts 15. 2.*

condemned almost as soon as published by the
 and most Authentick General Council
 ever was, yet as we read in the Epistles
 S. Paul, and † *Ignatius*, it afterwards took
 in the *Greek* and *Asian* Churches, and par-
 ticularly so bewitched the foolish *Galatians*,
 like the proud *Pharisees* among the *Jews*,
 the filthy || *Gnosticks* among the Christians,
 thought to be justified by the *Mosaick*

this was part of the Doctrine of many
 Hereticks in the Primitive Times, as the
Æi (so called from the poor and beggarly
 ones they had of *Christ*) the *Cerinthians*
Marcionites, and many more, which we
 find in *Eusebius*, *Irenæus*, *Epiphanius*, and
 others. Some again not considering, that
 the coming of *Christ* into the World was
 to destroy the Church of the *Jews*, and seal up
 the Law and Prophecy, and all other Ways of Re-
 velation, which belonged to the Constitution
 of the Old Testament, have vainly imagined that God would
 make new Discoveries, and raising up
 new Prophets and Heroical Zealots to the
 Church; and upon this Supposition have pre-
 tended, like the Prophets and Heroes of the
 Old Testament, to Illuminations, Prophecies,
 Visions, Dreams, Raptures, Inspirations, Voi-
 cings from without, irresistible Impulses within,
 and Communion with God, converses

1st. Philip. † *Ad Magnesios*. || *Euseb. hist. lib. 4. c. 17.*
 with

with his Angels, and I know not what *Majesties* of the other World; as if the glory and Majesty of God did dwell among Christians as it did in the midst of the *Jews*, to make them interpret their Laws, model their Religion, conduct their Armies, fight their Battels, constantly sit at the Helm of Government, and order Affairs both in Church and State.

Such pernicious Impostors and Enthusiasts these, were *Simon Magus*, *Menander*, *Cerinthus*, *Marcion*, *Carpocrates*, *Montanus*, *Manes*, *Apollonius*, and others in the primitive Times; in the sixteenth Century *Mahomet*, the Summe of all Heresie before him, and *Messias* of the Jews; and in the latter Ages of Christianity of the Legend-Saints of the Church of Rome as *Dominick*, *Brigit*, *Francis of Assise*, *Catharine of Siena*, and *Ignatius* the Founder of the *Jesuits*; and in the reformed Parts of “Europe”
 “* *Christopher Kotter* the *Silesian*; *Nicolas*
 “*Drabick* the *Moravian*; *Christina* Poetess
 “of *Bohemia*; *Thomas Muntzer*, *David Geier*
 “*Jacob Behmen*, *John of Leyden*; *Mrs. Hutchinson* --- the Prophetesses of *New England*
 “*Labbadé* of late in *Holland*; *Nayler*, *Widdowes*
 “*Muggleton*, and some other Enthusiasts in our own Country, not so extravagant as these would take it ill to be mentioned here, who by pretending more or less to Revelations, or *New Light*, have infected the

* *Lux è Tenebris.*

the Multitudes, which run after them with Religious sort of Phrenzy, filling their Minds with Enthusiastical Conceptions of God and Religion, and have thereby over-run the Protestant World with Superstition and Schism.

I should here proceed to a compleat Enumeration of all the Errors both in Faith and Practice, which proceed from a partial or total Ignorance of the *Jewish* Church and State; I forbear to mention them, 'till I come to that Place, where I design to confute them, intending to handle my Discourse in the following Method.

First, I will explain my Text, and give a copious and clear Account of these ancient Privileges, wherein consisted the Oeconomy of the *Jews*.

Secondly, From the Explication of it I will draw some useful Corollaries or Propositions.

And Thirdly, From these Corollary Propositions I shall endeavour to confute many Antient and Modern, Publick and Private Errors in Faith and Practice, which favour strong *Jewish* Superstition, and seem to owe their Origin to that casual or wilful neglect of consulting the *People of Israel*, according to the Design of my Text, as the adopted Children and peculiar Possession of the Lord. *These are Israelites, to whom pertaineth the Kingdom, &c.*

That

That is, who are *Israelites*, the * chosen Seed of *Abraham*, the adopted or elect People whom as *Moses* † speaks, he took as a Nation out of the Midst of other Nations, by Signs and by Wonders, that he might call his Name upon them, and set them aside for himself εἰς ἡμετέραν κληρονομίαν, ἡμετέραν ἐκκλησίαν, λαὸν ἡμετέρον, a peculiar Inheritance, an holy separate Nation, a chosen Race, and a People acquired and purchased to himself by * Wonders, and by War, by a mighty Hand, and out-stretched Arm, according to all that he did in the Land of *Egypt*. They of all other People were his *Segullah*, which signifies his particular Portion, his most proper and precious Possession. He of all the Gods only belonged to them, and they of all other Nations only belonged to him; and as the Author of the Book † *Cofri* observes, when *Moses* was sent by God unto *Pharaoh*, he was not bid to say, God that created Heaven and Earth, but *Lord the God of the Hebrews hath sent me unto thee*. Hence all along the Old Testament honours them with the Title of his own People, whom he took to protect and govern himself; and according to the Promises mentioned in my Text, slew mighty Kings for their sake that he might give them the Land of *Canaan* for an Heritage, even an Heritage unto *Israel* his People.

* *Isa.* 4. 8. † *Deut.* 4. 33. || *Exod.* 19. 5, 6. *Psal.* 135. 4. 2. 9. *Ecclus.* 36. *Isa.* 41. 8. * *Deut.* 4. 34. † *Pars* 1. *Scilicet*.

Hence, as *Josephus* often observes, the Policy of the *Jews* was *Theocratical*, or a * Government by God himself, and therefore † *Solomon* is said to have sit on the Throne of God, and *Jerusalem* God's imperial City is called both in the Old and New Testament the || City of the great King. His was *the Kingdom, the Power, and the Glory*; and by virtue of his royal Dignity and Power he exacted of his Subjects for the service of his House or Sanctuary, the yearly Tribute of half a Shekel to be paid by the Pole; and if any Man failed to pay at the appointed day of restraint by an Order from the Parliament of God, I mean from the Sanhedrim, was laid upon his Goods. Nay, this Sacred Money, as *Josephus* calls it, was a Tax or Custom so proper to the *Jewish* Nation, that neither || *Samaritans*, nor *Profelytes* were permitted to offer it unto the King, who sat between the *Cherubims*, and owned no other Subjects but the *Jews*. Hence as it appears from the Historical Books of the Old Testament, the Judges were his Deputies, and the Kings but his Viceroys over the *Jews*, and both the Judges and Kings were chosen, and deposed by him at his Pleasure, and like *Moses* and *Joshua* before did neither make War nor Peace, nor undertake any

* *Isa.* 33. 22. † *1 Sam.* 8. 7. † *1 Chron.* 29. 23. || *Psal.* 48. 2. *Matth.* 5. 35. *Ecclus.* 36. 13. * *Exod.* 30. 3. † *Selden. de Jure l. c. 5. de Synedr. l. 3. c. 10. 2. Lightfoot Temp. ch. 17. || Selden de Jure, l. 3. c. 4.*

State-matter of great Moment, without first asking Council of the Lord.

Sometimes he answered them by Visions, sometimes by Dreams, sometimes by Prophets, but most commonly of all by * *Urim* and *Thummim*; and this Political Oracle or Oracles, though not mentioned in my Text, yet it is alluded unto in several Places of the New † Testament, and expressly so called by the Son of *Sirach*, *Ecclus.* 36. 14. where he prays God to restore his unspeakable Oracles unto *Sion*, and raise up Prophets in his holy Name.

Hence there was always appointed *Sacerdos Castrensis*, a || Camp-Priest, as * *Schickard* renders *Meslich Milchamah*, which signifies a Priest anointed to War, for such an one was always consecrated by special Unction to march with these Oracles with the Army to the War, that he might always be at hand to give † responses to the Judge, General, King, or any other Person of a publick Character, who had Power to ask Counsel of the Lord of Hosts. Hence God by Vertue of his prerogative Royal as Political Sovereign of the Jews, gave his General *Joshua* Directions for besieging of *Jericho*, and reserved at the Sacking of it, all the Silver, and Gold, and Brass, as Royal Prize for himself; and lastly, when he brought his adop

* *Vid. Joh. Braunium de Urim & Thummim*, c. 20. l. 2. de *Viss. Sacerd.* † *Rom.* 3. 2. † *Pet.* 4. 11. || *Deut.* 20. 2. * *Misp.* c. 5. *Th.* 13. † *Josh.* 22. 12, 13. *Judg.* 20. 18. *Numb.* 32. 6. † *1 Sam.* 23. 2, 9, 11. 14. 1, 3. 28. 6. 14. 18. 23. 2. 2 *Sam.* 5. 19. † *1 Chron.* 14. 14. † *1 Sam.* 30. 8.

ted People out of *Egypt*, like their wise * Legislator and Prince, as the Scriptures call him, he gave them *Hasepher Hathorah*, a Code of incomparable Moral and Civil Laws, of which my Text takes Notice, and of which I may say what *Cicero* said of the *twelve Tables*, which were but † Fragments copied out at the third Hand from the *Mosaick* Original, that they were || worth all the other Volumes in the World.

Furthermore, resolving for several Reasons of State to manifest his Royal Presence to the Senses of his People, he was pleased to become *Jehovah Stator*, and dwell among them in as visible a manner, as his Divinity would permit. While they sojourned in Tents he would have his Tabernacle or Tent; but when they were settled in the Holy Land, and had built them houses, he changed his Tent into a standing Palace or Temple, where in the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, or Presence-room thereof, the *Glory* here mentioned did always appear. This *Glory*, or glorious Appearance of God, as * *Ezek.* describes it, consisted in Clouds, and Brightness, and beautiful Colours; and it was to the Nation of the *Jews*, as the flame in the Bush was to *Moses*, a visible Symbol of God's special presence, and a sensible Sign and Demonstration, that he resided in his holy Palace, and

Isa. 33. 22. *Ezek.* 20. 11. † *Grot. de Jure*, l. 2. 12. 12. 3
Psal. 19. & 119. * *C.* 10. v. 11.

therefore when *Ezek.* went about to let the *Jews* know, that God would no longer dwell among them, but forsake the holy City and Nation for the Rebellion of his People, he described it by the gradual Motion of the *Glory* from the *Holy of Holies* to the Threshold of the House; from thence to the East gate of the Temple; from thence to the Midst of the City; and from thence to the Mountain, where it finally disappeared.

Lastly, to complete the Notion of God's Habitation, or Dwelling amongst his People, the Original Word for * *Tabernacle* signifies a Dwelling-house, and the Original Word for † *Temple* signifies a Royal Palace, or House of a King. Accordingly as a || Learned Author of our own hath observed, there were all Things in it suitable to the Oeconomy of a House. For in the holy Place, which the *Greek* translation calls the holy Hall, there was a Table, and upon the Table Bread, and a Candle-stick, and Dishes, and Spoons, and Bowls and Covers, and on the Altar, as on the Hearth of this House Royal, was kept a continual Fire, and a constant Supply of Meat, and Provision came in by the Sacrifices, part of which (not to mention the Offerings) was consumed by the Fire, which fell from Heaven, as God's Provision, and the other Part was eaten by the

* שכן א משכן *habitarit.* † היכל || Dr. Cudw. L. Schi
Supp. c. 6.

III. the great King. And as for his inferior Servants
 well the Levites, who were constantly employed
 and in the Service of his Sanctuary, he made ample
 e de- Provision for their Maintenance, by allotting
 Glory them no fewer than forty eight Cities with
 of the Suburbs of Two thousand Cubits compass,
 f the and Tithes in kind of the whole Land ; and
 f the his Oeconomy of God's Household, with all
 where the Rites and Ceremonies, that concerned the
 Priests and Levites, and Purifications of the
 God's People approaching to his Presence, is that
 people, which is understood in my Text by the *Service*
 ifies a or worship of God. Those Forty eight
 rd for Cities, with the Tithes, Offerings, and Sacri-
 House ces, God set aside for the standing Expences
 ed Au of the Government, and often levied other
 ere all occasional Tributes, as you may read in the
 of a Chap. of *Numbers*, where he commanded
 ch the *Moses* to levy him a Tribute of the *Captives*,
 ere wa the *Sheep*, the *Asses*, and the *Beeves*. And as
 a Can was very reasonable to let him have his Pro-
 Bow portion of the Spoil, who had Power to give
 Heart victory, as well as make War : So the Sacri-
 ual Fire ces, Tithes, Offerings besides the half-She-
 rovision el before mentioned, though they amounted
 ch (no * a fifth of the whole Land, were but a just
 d by the revenue for such a Prince, as had won them
 d's Po the Country by miraculous Conquests, and
 by the Power to bless it with special Increase.

Cudw. L. * Schichard Misp. c. 14th. 15. Seld. Review of Tithes, p. 456.

He gave what he exacted of his People in the Blessings of Heaven and Earth; he made the Land of *Canaan* a good and plentiful Land, * a Land of *Brooks of Water, and Fountains, a Land of Wheat, and Barley, and Vines, and Fig trees, and Pomegranates; a Land whose Stones were Iron, and out of whose Hills they digged Brass; a Land where they eat Bread without Scarceness, and drank Wine to the full.* In a Word, as † *Ezek.* saith, it was *the Glory of all Lands*; for God, who chose it above all the rest of the World for himself and his People to dwell in, made it flow *with Milk and Honey*, and abound with all Things that could contribute not only to the Sustenance, but to the Pleasure of Man. As *Eden* was to *Adam*, saith the Book || *Cofri*: So was this Land called the holy Land to *Abraham*, and his Seed. It was a Terrestrial Paradise, the Place of God's special Presence in the Time of the *Patriarchs*. *Divinity* [חַעֲנִין הַקֹּדֶשׁ] loved to reside there, and there God met the Fathers in Visions and Dreams.

The *Fathers*, to whom he made the Promises mentioned in my Text of driving the Nations out of the Land, and giving it to their Seed; The *Fathers*, viz. *Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob*, those noble, select and holy Persons with whom, as the *Jewish* Writers boast, *Divinity* loved to converse, and who descended

* *Deut.* 8. 7, 8. 12. † *Chap.* 20. 15. || *Pars* 2. 14.

successively in that peculiar Line, to which (excepting *Therab*) Divinity still adhered, and in which the true Religion was still to be found, from *Adam the Son of God*.

With these Divine Heroes it was that he made and renewed the *Covenants*, or * Covenant here mentioned in my Text; the Covenant of which † Circumcision was the Seal; but more especially the Political Covenant, or † Testament, which *Moses* the Mediator of it made between God and the *Jews*, and confirmed with the sprinkling of Blood. To conclude, of the Seed of these * Fathers contracted first into the Tribe of † *Judah*, and then into the House of † *David*, *Christ* or *Messias* came to put an End to this *Theocracy*, abrogate the * *Law Mosaiick*, destroy the † Sanctuary, seal up Vision and Prophecy, cause sacrifice and Offering to cease, throw God's Inclosure into the Common again, and break down the † Wall of Partition betwixt the Court of the *Gentiles* and the *Jews*; for now God is no Respector of Persons, no longer the Shepherd of *Israel*, but all the World is one fold, under one Shepherd, and in every Nation, those that work * Righteousness are accepted by the Lord, as well as the *Israelites*, to whom, as you have heard, *pertained the Adop-*

* Some MSS. read *συνδύμν*. † Gen. 17. 10, 11. † Exod. 24. 8. * Gen. 17. 22. Heb. 7. 14. † Gen. 49. 10. † Isa. 11. 1, 10. m. 15. 12. Ignat. ad Smyrn. & ad Ephes. * Rom. 7. 4. † Dan. 27. † Ephes. 2. 14. * Acts 10. 34, 35.

tion, and the Glory, and the Covenants, and the giving of the Law, and the Service of God, and the Promises, whose are the Fathers, and of whom, as concerning the Flesh, Christ came: Who is—

Having given such a clear and intelligible an Account of the *Jewish* Oeconomy, as such a compendious Explication of my Text would permit; I proceed to deduce some Corollary Doctrines and Propositions; the first of which is this;

That the Judicial and Ceremonial Laws, which God gave *Moses* for the Civil and Ecclesiastical Government of his *Peculium*, or adopted People the *Jews*, cannot as such * oblige any other Nation, Society, or Sect of Men who are not so politically related to him, as they were.

Secondly, That it would be impious and absurd for any other Nation, Sect, or Body of Men not so chosen, and adopted by God as the *Jews* were, to pretend to such special Favours and Privileges, as they enjoy'd, not upon any Account common to them with other Nations; but by virtue of their Adoption, as they were the Select and peculiar People of God.

Thirdly, That it would be vain and foolish for any other Nation, Sect, or sort of Men who have no such political and special Prom

* *Vid. Wilhelm. & Philip. Zepper. de Lege Mosaicâ.*

as the *Jews* had, to pretend to be so chosen and adopted by God.

Fourthly, That it would be singular Affectation and Impiety, for any Denomination of Christians, and Madness for any other Sect or Society of Men, whose political Sovereign God is not, to arrogate the political Privileges of the *Jews*, or pretend to such Promises, as upon the Account of that Relation they had.

Fifthly, That it is absurd for any Christian to receive the *Jewish* Rites and Sacraments, those federal Signs between their infinite political Sovereign and them, and not own himself a Debtor to * *their Law*, or to own himself a Debtor to their political Law, and not own them to be yet the Adopted People of God.

Sixthly, That for Christians to believe, that the *Jews* are yet the peculiar and adopted People of God, is to invalidate the Gospel, which they profess, and make † *Christ*, who came to adopt all Nations, of no Effect or Importance to the World.

Seventhly, That it is an absurd and dangerous Conclusion for Christians to assert, That they are bound for every Action they do, at least in the Worship of God, to have as particular Warrant and Direction from his written Word, as the *Jews* had from the *Mosaical Law*.

* Gal. 5. 2, 3, 4, Ignat. ad Magnes. & Philadelph. † Gal. 5. 3, 4. 1 Pet. 2. 9.

Eighthly,

Eighthly, That it is neither safe, nor warrantable, nor consistent with Christian Moderation and Sobriety, to imitate the extraordinary Heroical Acts of the *Jewish* Worthies, who being moved by secret Impulses and Directions from the Spirit of God their Political King, did many Things upon a State-Account, which it would be Unchristian Rashness for others to attempt, and utterly unlawful for them to do. Such as were the Actions of most of their Judges, all the * *Zealots*, and many other Heroical Persons, as *Moses*, *Elias*, *David* and *Jehu*, upon whom the Spirit of Impulse came.

These are the Doctrinal Conclusions, which among many more, I have drawn from the Explication of my Text, or the Consideration of *Jewry* as a *Theocracy*; and the *Jews* as the peculiar and adopted People of God. From whence I proceed in the last Place, to the Confutation of those great and manifold Errors both in Faith and Practice; which proceed, as I said before, from Mens not knowing, or at least not duly considering this very familiar but very momentous Truth.

First then, From these Principles appear the strange Superstition and Folly of some Priests

* Of the Right and Power of Zealots, *Seld. de Jure*, l. 4. c. de Synedr. l. 2. c. 14. 3. *Cuneus*, l. 1. c. 12. 2, 3. *Hammond's Treatise of Zealots*, and on *Matth.* 23. 12. 10. 4. 1 *Maccab.* 2. 24, 25, 26.

primitive Churches, both of *Jewish* and *Gentile* Christians, who were * Zealous of continuing at School under *Moses*, and living in Bondage under his Law, notwithstanding the † Vision of *S. Peter*, and his Declaration upon it, that God would no longer appropriate the *Jews*; and likewise notwithstanding the Apostolick Decree at *Jerusalem* concerning the Abrogation of the *Jewish* Law. Such as these were the foolish || *Galatians*, who were so bewitched (tis the Apostle's own Phrase) with this Doctrine of the *Jewish* Hereticks, that they observed Circumcision, one of their Sacraments, with their * Days and Months, and Times, and Years, and so made themselves unawares, as the same † Apostle shew'd them, Debtors to observe the whole *Mosaick* Law.

Secondly, From hence appears the damnable Heresie of the || *Gnosticks*, those *Jesuits*, or emissaries of the *Jews*, sent out from among them on purpose to subvert the Faith of the newly planted Christian Churches: For as *Eusebius* tells us, they taught, that Christians had absolute need of the *Σωματική Λατρεία*, or legal Observations; they rejected the Epistles of *Paul*, which were designedly written against their pestilent Doctrine, and called him *Apostate from the Law*.

Acts 15. 1. 5. 24. † *Acts* 10.
Gal. 3. 1. ἀποπόν χεσιν χεισόν] Ἰησοῦν καλεῖν, καὶ Ἰουδαΐζειν.
at. ad Magn.
Gal. 4. 10. † *Gal.* 5. 2, 3, 4. || *Euseb. Hist.* l. 4. c. 22.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, From hence appears the fond superstitious Zeal of all, or most of the Bishops of the *Asian* Churches, about the latter end of the second Century, who held it indispensibly necessary to keep *Easter-Day* after the *Jewish* Rite, precisely on the Day of the *Full Moon*, next after the Vernal Equinox, on what Day of the Week soever it chanced to fall; and protested against the Observation thereof, according to the Custom of the *Latin* Churches, on the *Sunday* following, the Day on which our Saviour rose from the dead.

This Tradition, as *Irenæus* observes, came from the Practice of the *Jewish* Christians, who made up almost all the first planted *Oriental* Churches; and the Connivance of *S. John*, and the Primitive Bishops thereat; and the Observation thereof was innocent and useful, as long as it was esteemed but a laudable Custom, or an indifferent Thing: But to impose a *Jewish* Rite, not for Decency and Order, but as antecedently needful unto all Christians, was to go * back from *Christ* to *Moses*, and an Infringement of the Liberty wherewith he hath made us free; and had *S. Paul* been then alive, he likely had reproached the *Asian* Churches, as he did the *Galatians*, with these weak and beggarly Rudiments, to which they desired to be in Bondage, and perhaps would have forbid the Bishops and Ministers to Judaize in this pa-

* Ὁ γὰρ Χριστιανισμὸς ἐκ εἰς Ἰουδαϊσμὸν ἐπιστρέφει ἀλλὰ τὸν εἰς Χριστιανισμὸν. Ignat. ad Magn.

icular, under the Pain of being deposed, according to the Seventh Apostolical Canon; at least he would have shew'd them what Babes they were in *Christ*, who when for the Time they ought to teach others, had need themselves be taught again in this particular, which be the first Principles of the Oracles of God.

Fourthly, From hence I proceed to confute the sensual and most absurd Doctrine of the ancient *Chilialists*; who, as * *Eusebius* observes, expounding the Prophecies of the *Old*, and the Promises of the *New Testament*, after the carnal manner, and let me add too, upon the carnal Hypothesis of the *Jews*, conceited that *Christ* will come at his Second, as the *Jews* conceived he would come at his first Appearance, to put them in Possession of *Canaan* again; where under his Reign at *Jerusalem* for Thousand Years, they should live free from all sorts of Trouble, and pass away the Time, like beatified *Epicures*, in sensual Pleasure and ease.

† *Irenæus*, to confirm this Opinion, cites many Promises of the *Old* and *New Testament*, in particular, *Gen. 15. 18. ver.* where God told *Abraham* he had given the Land to his seed, from the River of *Egypt*, i. e. the *Nile*, to the great River, the River *Euphrates*. Which promise (saith he) having never yet been made good to the *Israelites* according to the

* *His. l. 7. 24.* † *L. 1. c. 32.*

Flesh, must needs be fulfilled to the Fellowship of Believers; who are the spiritual Seed of the Father of the Faithful, and Heirs of the promised Land; hither he also refers *Mark* 14. 25. where our Saviour, after he drank of the Cup, said to his Disciples, *I will drink no more of the Fruit of the Vine, till the Day that I drink it new in the Kingdom of God.*

This gross Conceit of our Saviour's Terrestrial Kingdom, was first divulged by *Papias*, a Man, as * *Eusebias* tells us, of a mean Head-piece, and not so capable of conceiving Spiritual Truths; and as *Feuardent* observes in his Notes on *Irenæus*, it came down by Tradition from the first Jewish Christians, who like the Mother of *Zebedee's Children* in the 20th of *S. Matth.* and the Apostles themselves, *Acts* 1. 6. still fancied that *Messias* at length ought to be King, and restore the Kingdom unto *Israel*.

The *Revelation* of *S. John*, which was written about Sixty Years after our Saviour's Passion, gave further Occasion to the growth of this Error; for this Prophetical Book being penn'd in the Prophetical Style, which is always wrapped up in Similitudes and Schemes did accidentally blind these carnal Dreamers who understood it in a literal Sence, and made them frame a Model of Government for

* *Hist.* l. 3. 39.

Christ and the Saints at the *New Jerusalem*,
 in the manner of that which had been in
 the Old. I have given this Account of the
 Original of this Error, that it might serve to
 apologize for *Justin Martyr*, *Tertullian*, *Ire-*
nius, *Apollinarius*, *Lactantius*, and other ex-
 cellent Fathers, who fell into it, although I
 must needs say, from the preceeding Proposi-
 tions, that it is a very gross and carnal Do-
 ctrine, unworthy the Spirituality of the Go-
 spel-Promises, inconsistent with a State of
 pure Glory, and that it debaseth the Regal
 Office of *Christ*. Lastly, to justify S. *Hie-*
ronymus against Mr. *Mede*, for calling these *Chili-*
Semi Judæans, their Opinion is *Jewish*,
 to receive it in what Notion soever you please.
 As *Jewish* in its Original, the *Gentile* having
 taken it from the *Jewish* Christians; its Plea-
 sures are sensual and *Jewish*; and the Constitu-
 tion of such a Kingdom, the Nature of its
 Government, and the Temporal Prerogatives
 belonging unto it, suppose a Renovation of
 that of the *Jewish* Oeconomy; and, that as
Jews and *Gentiles* in this Life had jointly turned
 Christians, so Christians in the next should all
 be *Jews*. But then, if you consider this
 Doctrine, as it is improved by those, whom
 the fanfied Temporal Monarchy of *Christ*,
 call *Fifth-Monarchy-Men*, it will appear to
 be not only a most fleshly, but a most bloody
Jewish Doctrine, which brings War and Deso-
 lation upon the whole Earth. For it represents

King

King *Jesus*, as another *Joshua*, the Saints his Followers, as *Gideons* and *Ehuds*, and the rest of the World, just like the *Seven Nations*, who were to be rooted out.

In the Fifth Place, to pass over many other both ancient and modern Errors, which I shall but mention towards the Conclusion of my Discourse, I proceed to examine the erroneous and dangerous Doctrine of our Modern *Raistes*, who make the Scriptures the sole and adequate Rule of humane Actions; and assert that Christians, like the *Jews*, are bound for ever to do every Thing they do in the Worship of God, to have positive * Warrant and Direction from his Word, according to that of *Deut. 4. 2.* *You shall not add unto the Word that I command you, neither shall you diminish from it, that you may keep the Commandments of your God.*

This single absurd Principle of our *Antiremonial* Teachers, hath been a fruitful Mother of Faction and Schism, and the cause of those Divisions and Subdivisions, which have made the Name of *Protestant* so uncertain in its Signification, and once more threaten the ruin of this Church. For no Traditions be certain, no Ceremonies how useful and innocent, nor any Ecclesiastical Orders, how reasonable and convenient soever they be, shall oblige the Consciences of these Men, unless some Command or Example be produced

* *Sporfwood's Hist. l. 3. p. 152.*

of Scripture, to warrant the Things which the Church shall Command.

This in plain Language is to suppose, that Christians are not a general, but a particular Church of Men, like the *Jews*; and to have hereupon received, not only the Substantials of Divine Worship from God, as God, but the Adjuncts and Circumstantials thereof from God as their King. Or else to suppose, that God by enjoining us nothing circumstantial in his Worship, hath forbidden us the Use, and taken away the Indifferency of indifferent Things; which, considering the Necessity of Time, Place, Posture, and Habit in general, and the Convenience of some particular Sorts at some Times, and in some Places, is impossible to imagine, and utterly inconsistent with the Liberty of such a free and manly Religion, as *S. Paul* describes the Christian to be.

For 'tis an equal Abridgment of humane Liberty, to be bound by God to the Observation of a Multitude of indifferent Matters, and be permitted the use of none; for he whose silence implies thou shalt not do such or such indifferent Things, or observe such and such indifferent Rites, doth as much impose upon thee, as he that saith thou shalt. Therefore God's ordaining nothing in the extrinsecal part of Religion under the Christian Oeconomy, doth not imply in *Jewish* Strictness, that he ought to order nothing, which he hath not imposed, but that he hath left both private

and publick Persons free to determine therein according to the Dictates of private and publick Wisdom.

As God then by commanding nothing Ceremonial, hath left single Persons free to act in the Ritual Part of Closet-worship, according as private Discretion shall suggest: so by doing he hath left it to the Power of Parents and Princes to regulate his Worship in the Circumstantials thereof, according to the Rules of Oeconomical and Civil Prudence, provided nothing be ordained inconsistent with his Word.

God for special Reasons, which the *Jewish* Rabbies assign, thought not fit to trust the *Jews* with the choice of their own Ceremonies, but hedged them about for their better Security, with a Mound of Ritual Orders and Laws; but there is nothing in the New Testament which implies the like of Christians though, * *St. Peter* says in the Words of *Moses* and *David*, that we are a chosen Generation, a royal Priesthood, an holy Nation, a peculiar People; but that doth not imply, that God hath given us as peculiar Directions for the outward Manner of his Worship, as he gave the *Jews*; but rather the contrary, that the Church of God was become as Catholic as Mankind; and that God by Consequence would no more set up any private or Divine Service, give no more Directions for the particu-

* *Epist.* 2. 9.

cular Modification of his Worship ; abridge our Liberty therein, neither by Negative nor Positive Precepts, nor further concern himself for those little Matters כל יתרת המשכן the very Pins of the Tabernacle, that affected Phrase of the late Writers for Reformation, whenever they argue from *the Pattern in the Mount*.

But suppose these Texts in * *Deut.* of neither adding nor detracting from God's Commands, concerned us as well as the *Jews* ; yet they cannot be taken in a Sence to prove, that humane Impositions are unlawful, because the *Jewish Kings* and *Sanhedrim* ordered many Religious Rites, used many Ceremonies, and appointed many Things to be observed in that Church without any other Warrant or Command from God, than the Use of common Reason and Prudence, as † *Maimonides* himself doth confess.

Take these out of many other Examples in that excellent Book || *Cofri*, and the * *Kalenders* of the *Jews*. *The Institution of the Feast Purim ; a great Number of annual Fasts, whereof four are mentioned and confirmed, Zach. 8. 19. The Baptism of Profelytes, which Christ instituted into a Sacrament : Parochial Synagogues, and Houses of Prayer : The Alteration of the Posture of eating the Passover, into the common Posture of Eating and Drinking : † Excommu-*

* C. 4. 2. 12. 32. † *Mor. Nev.* p. 3. c. 41. & *de Temp.* || *Par*
3. * *Seld. de anno civ. c. 8. de Synedr. l. 3. c. 13.* † *Lightfoot,*
1 *Cor. 5. 15.*

nication : The * carved Image of the City Shushan over the East Gate of the Temple, set up in Remembrance of the Captivity : And lastly, the fixing the Month Abib to the Vernal Equinox, by appointing the intercalary Year, without which, the Months shifting places, the Observation of the Passover, and all the other moveable Feasts appointed by God, had been uncertain and preposterous ; and as the Egyptian Priests told † Herodotus, for a Chronical, what he related for an Astronomical Observation, the Sun had frequently set where he had risen, and risen where he had set.

Lastly, the Canonical and Apocryphal Writers furnish us with other Instances ; as *Hezekiah's* continuing the Feast of unleavened Bread seven Days longer than was appointed by the Law ; *Solomon's* Feast of seven Days for the Dedication of the Altar ; and the annual Feast of eight Days appointed by || *Judas Macchabeus* and his Brethren, which continued to the Days of our Saviour, and stands approved upon Record in the Gospel of * *S. John*.

I might here add the great Liberty which all the Primitive Churches took in imposing Rites and Ceremonies, and appointing † Festivals to be observed ; but Authority signifies no-

* *Lightf. Temp. c. 3.* † *Lib. 2.* || *1. Macc. 4. 59.* * *C. 10. 21.*
 † *As may be shewn from the Titles of the Sections of the ancient Syriack Version of the New Test.*

thing with the Men, whom I here oppose. For when we tell them of the Practice of the Primitive Churches, they make the same Answer that the Socinians do, when we urge them with the Doctrine thereof, viz. that Antichrist began to work in the Apostles Days, and that Errors crept early into the Church.

To conclude, This Jewish, or rather more than Jewish Doctrine utterly overthrow the use of the Apostles Creed; * Infant-Baptism; the Observation of the Lords Day; the solemn † Vow at Baptism; Prayers before and after Sermon; Prayers before and after the Sacraments; the admitting of Women to the Communion, and justifies the second Division of our Dissenters against the first, the third against the second, the fourth against the third, and the last against them all; who have declared to the World, that if they must have humane Inventions, the old are better than the new.

In the Sixth Place, I proceed to shew of what Immoral and Unevangelical Spirits many Christian Zealots have been, in comparing themselves, and the Patrons of their Parties, to the Jewish Worthies; and teaching that they acted like them in their most unwarrantable and unlawful Undertakings, by secret and irresistible Impulses from the holy Spirit

* Cassand. Theses opposit. Thes. S. Chrysost. Gal. 2. 15.

† Ἀλλὰ ὃ σου περὶ τὸ Βάπτισμα, ἀποπίσσειν τὸ Σαττανὰ, καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτῶ, ἐν ποίῃς ἐστὶ γεγραμῆς, Basil. de Sp. Sancto, c. 27. vid. C. c. 29.

of God. Thus the *Pope* himself, as * *Davilah* relates, compared the Duke of *Guise*, the Patron of the Papistical League, to *Judas Macchabeus*; the Jesuits called him *Gideon*, and bid him go on and prosper in the Cause of God. Conformably hereunto, when they consecrate an Assassin, as † *Hospinian* proves they sometimes do, to murder an Heretick Prince, they solemnly devote him to the blessed Work in such a Form as this: "Thou chosen and beloved Son of God, take here the Sword of *Gideon*, the Sword of *Jephtha*, the Sword of *Sampson*, the Sword of the *Macchabees*, the Sword of *Judith*; Go, and be of good Courage, and the Lord strengthen thy Arm. Accordingly they wrote an || Apology for *John Chastell*, wherein they endeavour to prove, that his murderous attempt on *Henry* the Fourth of *France* was Heroical, although he failed therein. I need not here repeat what *Pope Sixtus Quintus* said in the Conclave, upon the stabbing of *Henry* the Third: And wish with all my heart, that this Jewish Doctrine of *Heroical Zeal* and *impulse*, were only chargeable upon *Papists*; but to the great Dishonour of the most blessed and honourable Name of Reformation, it hath been taught and practised by many considerable Reformers of the Episcopal Reformation, who, to omit other Instances, once or twice cried out in Insurrections against King *James* in Scot-

* *Hist. l. 9.* † *Lib. 4.* || Printed in French, 1595.

land, the Sword of the Lord, and of Gideon ; and in a Letter which they wrote to the * Lord Hamilton, inviting him to be their Othniel or General, they told him, that the People were animated by the Word and Motion of God's Spirit, to go to Arms.

Goodman, and Kilby, and Knox's Works are full of this Doctrine ; and every one knows to what strange, inward extraordinary Callings, Motions, and Directions, † Coppinger and Hacker, and their Associates formerly pretended ; and I need not tell || whom they followed, or what Profession they were of.

In like manner many of the late Preachers, as may be seen in the *Parliament-Sermons*, commended the most forward Undertakers of the late Rebellion, for their Zeal, and compared them thereupon to Phineas, and other Zealots for God. Particularly one of them in the 7th Page of his Sermon, Entitled, *The glorious Name of the Lord of Hosts*, says expressly, that as the Spirit of the Lord came upon Sampson and Gideon, so it came upon many of the Nobles and Worthies of that Parliament, and in the Dedication thereof complemented the * then General, as Pope Gregory the Fifteenth complemented the late King of France, when he was raising an Army to extirpate his Protestant Sub-

* Fonlis History of the wicked Plots, l. i. † Bancrofts dangerous Positions, l. 4. || Cartwright and Travers. * E of Essex.

jects, in the glorious Name of the Lord of Hosts.

What damnable Doctrine is this? How inconsistent is it to the Practice of Primitive Christianity, and the meek and peaceable Doctrine of the Gospel; which is the only Oracle of Revelation to Christians, who are to expect no other Motions, no other Impulses from the Spirit, but such as insensibly move us to Vertue and Goodness, in the Use of the Means of Grace?

Indeed God by being temporal head of the Jews, had frequent Occasions to raise up certain extraordinary Persons, by the powerful impulses of his Spirit, to work miraculous Deliverances for his People, and execute suprallegal Commissions in certain Cases of special Exigence, where it would not be convenient to wait for the ordinary Process of Law: Of this there are many Instances of the Old, and one of our Saviour in the New Testament; but then the Zealots, so incited by God, did carry with them evident Marks, that they were truly so affected, as *Phineas*, *Jehu*, *Elias*, and *Christ*; or if they did not, they were subject, like the Prophets, to be tried by the Sanhedrim, and paid for such Pretensions to the Spirit, when they were false by no less Price than their Blood.

But our Saviour, who put an End to the Jewish State of his Fathers temporal Reign, put an End thereby to all future Pretensions of suprallegal

ralegal Impulses, and Zeal ; and both by his
 Doctrine and Example hath forbidden such
 unwarrantable Proceedings to Christians, as
 unbecoming their Meekness and Sobriety, in-
 consistent with Evangelical Peace and Obedi-
 ence, and Destructive to that Authority and
 Power, which he hath left to the Civil Magi-
 strate, the Minister of God to execute Wrath.
 Therefore to pretend now with the Cle-
 ments, and Ravailacks, the Melvils, and Mit-
 chells, and Hackets, and Hackstons to the Right
 and Power of Zealots, and Old Testament-im-
 pulses from the Spirit of God, is in effect to
 teach, that God is our temporal King, and that
 Christians are now in a Jewish Sense the pecu-
 liar People of God. Thus the Munster-Ana-
 baptists in the Jewish Style miscalled themselves,
 the Children and chosen People of God ; and
 boasted that the Sword of Gideon was put into
 their Hands to destroy the Principalities and
 Empire of this World, and set up the King-
 dom of the Lord Christ.

To the same purpose tended the many Ser-
 mons Preached and Printed in the late times
 on *Curse ye Meroz, the Lord of Hosts, be*

διὰ τὸ το μωδῆται αὐτοῦ γινόμενοι μάθωμεν κατὰ χεῖστα-
 ῶν. — ὁ πέρδεδε ἐν τῷ κακῷ ζύμῳ τὴν παλαιω-
 ῶν καὶ ἐνοξίσασιν, καὶ μεταβάλεδε εἰς νέαν ζύμην, ὃ ἐστὶν
 ἡ κεῖσος. S. Ignat. ad Magnes.
 Ἐὰν δὲ πρὸς Ἰουδαϊσμὸν ἐρμηνεύῃ ἡμῶν, μὴ ἀκύνετε αὐτὴν.
 ὅτι γὰρ ἐστὶν παρὰ ἀνδρὸς περιστομῶν ἐχρήσθη χεῖστος-
 ἀκύνειν, ἢ παρὰ ἀκροβύτου Ἰουδαϊσμὸν. S. Ignat. ad Phi-
 lip.

valiant

valiant and fight the Battels of the Lord; and other such Military Texts, which made the common People of *Great-Britain* consider themselves as the People of *Israel*; and in Fits of Fanatical Heat, which they were taught to call Zeal for the Glory of God, act like Enthusiasts, and follow their Leaders, like the Jews of latter Times, to commit such execrable Treasons, as ought not to be mentioned without Horror and Tears.

The late Instance of *Venner* and his Company, and the later Insurrections in *Scotland* are also pat Examples to this Theam; where the former fighting for *Jesus* as a Temporal and the latter as a Spiritual King, did certainly believe, according to the Doctrine of *Tho. Muntzer*, that every one of them was able to chase a Thousand, and two to put Ten thousand to flight.

The next Error that falls under the Cognizance and Redargution of the preceeding Propositions, is that absurd Doctrine of the Validity and indispensable Obligation of the *Leges Forenses*, or Judicial Laws of the *Jews*. This Doctrine was asserted about the Time of the Reformation, by * *Caroloſtadius* and *Castellio*, and the Defence of it was not long since offered to the Press by one Mr *Bampfield* and the late † *Scottish* Rebels in their new

* *Wilhel. Zepper. lib. 1. c. 2.*

† Copy of the Fanaticks new Covenant.

ant, or Scheme of Reformation, declared
 they would be governed by the Civil or
 al Laws, which God gave to his peculiar
 ple, excepting the Laws of *Slavery*, *Poly-*
 and *Divorce*. And the Colony of the
Massachusetts in *New England*, though they
 not expressly declared the *Jewish* Laws
 indispensibly binding, yet it appears from
 Capital Laws, the greater part of which
 both for Matter and Style *Mosaick*, that
 had an unreasonable Superstitious Vene-
 n for them, having Enacted Death in the
 Words of *Moses*, for him that smiteth or
 th his Parents, as also for the incorrigible
 thought my self obliged to take notice of
 Error, against which *Luther*, *Calvin*, *Me-*
ton, and many more Divines of Note
 occasionally written, and asserted the Li-
 berty wherewith *Christ* hath made us free.
 especially, I think my self bound here to
 advert upon those, who though they did
 assert the Validity of the whole *Mosaick*
 yet have asserted the indispensable Oblig-
 of some particular Laws in it, to the
 Scandal of the Protestant Name. In
 lar I understand those who have decla-
 ed *Mosaick* † Laws against Idolatrous Places

*Laws of the Massachusetts Colony, printed at Cambridge
 Green, for John Usher of Boston.*

*of Arran's Answer to the Queen's Proclamation, Hist.
 R. Watson, p. 104. id. p. 149.*

and

venan

and Persons to be in Force, and so have the People deluded with this Doctrine Tumults to pull down Churches, and thim meritorious to put Popish Priests and Pr as Idolaters unto Death. There are Exam enough of these Doctrines in *Knox's* and *Wood's* History, and I wish there were no where else; but *Nehashtan* was here in 1668; and besides the Murderer the late Archbishop of *S. Andrews*, I name others, reputed saving Preachers, applied this Doctrine very closely to the shops, as *Baal's Priests*.

In the next Place, I cannot but shew Jewish, or rather more than Jewish Super on of some Modern Christians, in affe Jewish Names and Phrases, contrary to Custom of the Universal Church. Thus * Meeting of *Cartwright*, *Travers*, and dissenting Ministers in *London*, it was re that such Names as did favour either of nism or Popery, should not be given to dren at Baptism, but only Scripture N accordingly † *Snape*, not to mention la amples, refused to Baptize a Child b Name of *Richard*, not remembering tha under the *New Testament* changed the Sc name *Saul* into the Pagan Name *Paul*, a *Thomas* came to be called *Didymus*, and surnamed *Mark*.

* *Bancroft's dangerous Pos. l. 3. chap. 9.*

† *Id. l. 3. ch. 11.*

us the *Massachusetts* of *New England*, as
be seen in their * *Book of Laws*, cite the
ths not by their ordinary Names, but by
first and second Month; and thus † *Pope*
er once forbad the World to call the Days
Week by the Name of the *Planets*,
the *Polonians* and *Bohemians* do yet su-
ciously observe, although the Church of
a, not to mention other Examples, in
|| Epistle about the Martyrdom of *Poly-*
their Bishop, useth the Pagan Names of
and the *Calends* of *May*.

from the same Fountain of *Jewish* Supersti-
t came, that the Lord's-Day was called
Sabbath, although *Justin Martyr* and *Ter-*
tullian, and the Imperial Edicts call it by the
name of *Sunday*, and when it was not called
thus, was always called the *Lord's Day*; and I
per those who would have it commonly
the *Sabbath*, contrary to the Custom of
Christian Nations, did not for the same
reason make the Lord's Supper be called the
Eucharist, especially since it is written, that
our *Passover* is sacrificed for us. To con-
firm this Remark, the Primitive Christians
so far from this Superstition, that when
Analogy required, they never scrupled to

about the Time and Place of the County Courts.

de Jure, l. 3. c. 22

Πολύκαρπος ὁ μακάριος Πόλις καὶ πᾶσι μὲν τοῖς ἑσπερίοις
ἡμέραις, πρὸ ἐπὶ τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ κακὰ. Martyr. Poly-
Armachano edit.

apply

apply the Terms of the Pagan to the Christian Religion, as in calling the Sacraments *Mysteri-
es*, the Men of extraordinary Austerities Devotion *Asketicks*; nay *Eusebius* calls Disciples of *Christ* * *Thiasotas*, as the Heathen called the Disciples of *Bacchus*, and the Sacraments of the Christian Religion, the † thereof.

I should now proceed in the next Place shew the vain and impious Pretensions of many Christian Enthusiasts to Revelations, Inspirations, Prophecies, and Prophetical Messiahs and other Supernatural Discoveries of the Counsel and Will of God, and shew by many notorious Examples, how the Enthusiasts of former and later Ages, both of the Protestant and Antiepiscopal Communions have pretended to have been spoken to by God, in all the divers Manners (*Urim* and *Thummim* excluded) by which he spake to the Fathers, to *Moses*, and the Prophets in the Jewish Scriptures. Just as if the Divine Majesty resided among the Christians in the same manner, and for the same Ends, that it did among the *Jews*, to declare and interpret Laws, conduct their Armies, declare War and Peace, make Leagues and Alliances, and do all other Things by which a King was bound, as a Political Sovereign, to declare his Royal Will upon all emergent Occasions, to direct, instruct, or correct his People.

* *Hist. lib. 1. c. 3.*

† *Hist. lib. 2. c. 1.*

the Kings which he set over them. This I designed for one of the principal Parts of my discourse, till I found, that it required an hour for it self.

Furthermore, I designed from these Premises, to shew how the *Jewish* Spirit hath reigned, and still doth Reign among very many Christian Communions; who, as * *Buxtorf* sets forth the Modern *Jews*, have an haughty and magnificent Opinion of their own Religion, and think that God and *Messias* belong to few none but themselves; such as these in the first Place are the Papists, who damn all that are out of the *Romish* Pale; and in the second for Modern † *Montanists*, *Novatians*, and *Donatists*, who, if they do not damn Episcopal Communions, as several of them have done, will think they have mighty spiritual Advantages above them; and out of an high conceit of their own Sanctity and Pureness, set up private Altars and Communions, and appropriate the Catholick Names of the Church, the Brethren, the Saints and the People of God unto themselves.

I likewise intended to shew the horrible Enthusiasm and Blasphemies of many Religious Orders in the *Romish* Church, who besides

Prefat. ad Synag.

Bancroft's dang. pos. l. 3. ch. 15.

Hist. of Independency, part 1.

Vid. Regulas Sancti Francisc. vel lib. Conform S. Francisc. Alcoranum Franciscanorum.

the common Gospel, which God hath published to the World, pretend to have received particular *Alcorans* from him by the Hands of their Founders ; wherein they have special Promises, Rules and Privileges, and thereupon boast themselves, as far above all secular Christians in the Favour of God and Angels, as the *Jews* were above the *Gentile* World. I likewise designed to shew how many Men have run into many gross unfortunate Errors, for want of rightly distinguishing in the Decalogue, and the Laws which follow after it, the purely Positive from the Moral Precepts, and the pure Ritual from the Typical part of the Ceremonial Law, which God as Ecclesiastical and Secular Sovereign, gave unto the *Jews*.

Hither had I referred the Ancient and Modern *Sabbatarians*; the Writers against *Usury* which some of them have made as great a Sin as Murder. The Religious Abstinence of the * Oriental Churches from unclean Animals and the Consecration of their Eucharist in unleavened Bread. The Modern *Iconoclastes*, zealous Opposers of the Civil and Historical Uses of † Monuments, Pictures, and great Images, especially in Churches, from whence the *Mechanicks* among the *Quakers* (it is said)

* Berewood's Enquiries. Cassand. op. p. 693.

† Spotswood's Hist. p. 381. Foulis his Hist. of pretend. Stow's Survey of London.

use to make any Images at all. Those *
 ivines, who held it unlawful to Anoint a
 ing at his Coronation, which was much op-
 sed by the Brethren as a Typical Rite at
 ing *James* his Coronation, and utterly forbid
 the *Consistorians*, when our present Sove-
 ign (whom God preserve) was Crowned
 ing of the *Scots*. The strict Divine Right of
 Tithes from the Law of *Moses*, and of Tithes
 Tithes, or Tenths unto the Pope, as the
 Christians High Priest. Lastly, Those who
 old it unlawful for the Supream Magistrate to
 rdon Murder, which God made unpardona-
 e among the *Jews*; as likewise those, who,
 ke the *Spanish* Christians condemned by the
 ouncil † of *Eliberis*, think themselves bound
 the Law of *Moses*, though with the Loss
 their Lives, to demolish Idol-Monuments
 d Gods.

Furthermore, I designed to shew what con-
 entious Care, and special Heed the Mini-
 ers and Writers of the Christian Religion
 ight to take, that they lead not the World
 to Mischief and Error, by arguing in a plau-
 le, but really false Analogy from Things and
 rsons in the *Jewish*, to Things and Persons
 the Christian Church.

Foul. Hist. pretend, l. i. c. 8. Mr. Douglas his Coronation

Can. 60.

L

Thus

Thus *Baronius* and *Bellarmino*, and almost all the Popish Writers argue for the Pope's Supremacy, from the Power and Primacy of the High-Priest among the *Jews*; and Pope *Gregory* the Fifteenth, in his Letter to Prince *Charles*, insisted upon this, that he ought to own the Authority of God's High Priest. And thus Pope *Adrian* the Sixth moved the Prince of *Germany* to cut off *Luther* and his Followers, because God cast *Corah* and his Company down into Hell, and commanded that those who would not obey the Priest, should be punished with Death.

Thus the *Disciplinarians* in *Scotland* compared * our hindring the pretended Discipline in *England*, unto the Hindrance God's Enemies made unto the Building of *Jerusalem*.

And thus also the Promoters and Abettors of the Solemn League and Covenant, which for ever have equall'd to the Covenant of Grace, were wont to express themselves about it to the People in the † Text and Phrases of the Old Testament, which concerned the making, breacking, or renewing that political Covenant, which God made with the People, and afterwards with his Viceroy the Kings of the *Jews*.

Thus whenever they (or their Ancestors) had a Mind to stir up the People to Rebellion

* *Bancr. dang. pos. b. 1. p. 31.*

† Such as 2 *King.* 11. 17. *Isa.* 44. 5. *Josh.* 24. 25. 29. 25. *Jer.* 22. 8, 9. 2 *Chron.* 34. 31, 32. *Jer.* 11.

they compared their Princes to the wicked Kings, whom God laid aside in the *Old Testament*. So one *Gibson* in his Sermon, compared King *James* to *Feroboam*; and *Gilly* cunningly resembled Queen *Eliz* of blessed Memory to *Feroboam*, *Ahab*, *Asah*, *Saul*, and almost all the wicked *Old Testament* Kings; and *Leighton* a great Incendiary in the late Times, in his *Sions Plea*, wherein he stirred up the People to kill the Bishops, called the late Queen-Mother the *Daughter of Heth*, a *Canaanite* and *Idolatress*; and others compared her to *Athaliah*, and said, she ought to be slain. And one of the * Ministers of this City, in a Speech which he made in the *Guild hall* to encourage the People to give largely towards the bringing in of the *Scottish* Army, referred them for his Excuse and Vindication, to *Numb.* 10. and *Deut.* 20. where God, the *Jewish* Sovereign, ordained, that the Priests should sound the Silver Trumpets, to proclaim War; and that when the People went out to Battle, the Camp-Priest was to make an Oration to them, to encourage them to fight for the Lord of Hosts.

Thus also Mr *Alured*, in the well-intended Letter, which he wrote to the Duke of *Buckingham*, against the *Spanish* Match, insisted upon this Argument to prove it unlawful, because the *Jews* were forbidden to marry Idolatrous Wives; and the pestilent Book *Lex Rex* saith,

* *Evang. Armat.* p. 3.

that the Elective King is more properly and essentially such, because the Kings of the Jews were Elective, according as it is written, *Thou shalt in any wise set him King over thee, whom the Lord thy God shall choose.* Here also I intended to shew, how weakly the *Anabaptists* argue for the Temporal Rights of the Saints, because God commanded the Jews to spoil the *Egyptians*, and gave them the Lands of the Idolatrous Nations.

Lastly, Here had fallen to the Ground the specious popular Arguments used by the former and later Rebels in *Great-Britain*, for deposing and murdering Kings, from the Examples of * *Saul, Agag, Jeroboam, Jehoram*, and the like, as may be seen in † *Spotswood's History, Buchanan de Jure Regni, Milton's Apology*, and *Goodwin's Vindication of the King's Murder*, and many other Pamphlets of the late Times, particularly a Collection of several Speeches delivered at a Conference concerning the Power of Parliament; which is nothing but *Doleman ali's Parsons* the Jesuit's Title to the Crown transposed.

To conclude, I here designed to shew how cautious and discreet the Ministers of the Gospel ought to be in the Use and Application of those Old Testament Phrases, which are proper to the Jewish Constitution of Affairs, lest by

* Herle's Sermon preached before the Commons, Nov. 5. 1641.
Watson's Hist. p. 117, 118. † P. 136, 137.

the Abuse or Misapplication of them, they beget false or dangerous Notions in the Mind of their Hearers ; as many out of Ignorance and Inconsideration, and some out of Malice and Design have done.

Hither I had referred the new Doctrine of Spiritual Desertion, otherwise called the *Comings and Goings of God*, which is built upon the * Texts, which speak of God's political forsaking the *Jewish* Kings, or People, or both ; as also the great Abuse of the Phrases which signifie rarely any thing else in the Old Testament, but the federal, or relative Holiness of the *Jewish* People, such as these are, the † *Saints* of God, the *People of God*, the *Children*, the *Israel*, and the *chosen of God* ; all which have been applied by the *Brownists* and other Schismatics, with so much Art, to their own Communion, as to make their People believe they were nearer and dearer to God, than the People of the established Religion ; and that we from whom they separate, as well as from the Papists, are in comparison but as || *Edomites*, *Canaanites* and *Egyptians*, (as the *Jews* in their Writings call all Christians) and Strangers to the Common-wealth of the *Israel* of God.

Here I had also shewed, that those Titles of relative Holiness, properly belonged only to the

* Such as 2 Sam. 12. 22. 2 King. 21. 13, 14. Psal. 94. 14. Psal. 71. 9. 51. 11. Eph. 2. 19.

† As Psal. 149. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. so much abused in the late times.

|| Bancr. dang. pos. p. 11.

Catholick Chutch, and the Congregations, that were faithful Members of it. I had likewise considered the great Abuse of the Military Titles of God, as that *he is the mighty One of Israel, the Lord of Hosts, a Man of War, strong and mighty in Battel*, &c. All which, though God affected only as a secular Prince and General, and assumed now and then to encourage his chosen People to fight with more Resolution against their Enemies, yet the Gospel-clarigators of the late times so abused these Warlike Attributes of God, as to perswade the deluded People, that he would fight for them, and that the Battels they prosperously fought against their own King, were the * Battels of the Lord. I appeal, for the Truth of what I say, to the Pamphlets of the late Times, more-especially to the *Parliament Sermons*, which with others of the same Nature never Printed, disposed the People of these Nations to act such Things in God's Name, as the † good Ministers of *Charenton* and *Geneva* declared, were a Reproach to the Protestant Religion, and an indeleble Scandal to the Protestant Name.

Lastly, I had here taken Notice of the Misapplication of *Urim* and *Thummim*, which was a State-oracle, to the Gospel-clergy; and some other Old Testament-Phrases improperly used

* *Steph. Marshall on the 1 Chron. 12. 38, 39, 40.*

† *Kings larger Declaration, p. 75.*

in the Devotions and Writings of good and orthodox Men.

In a Word, I also designed to shew what an excellent Scheme this Notion of the *Jewish Theocracy* is to solve and account for all the Passages of the Old Testament, which otherwise seem inexplicable, or harsh to the common Way of Reasoning among Men; such as these are, the falling down of the Walls of *Jericho*, after the City had been seven times compassed with *the Ark of the Lord*; the Slaughter of the *Affyrian* Army by the Angel of the Lord; the Miraculous Strength and Exploits of *Sampson* against the *Philistines*; and how it came to pass that one of his Soldiers was able to * chase a Thousand of his Enemies [smitten with panic fear] and two put Ten Thousand of them to flight. Such likewise are many of the Ceremonial Precepts, which because we can assign no natural Reason for them, we are apt to think were needless and arbitrary; whereas God had very good political Reasons, why he imposed them upon his People under such severe Penalties as he did. As for Example, he forbid them to wear Garments made of Linen and Woolen, to round the Corners of their Heads, and have off the Corners of their Beards, because the † Idolatrous Priests of the neighbouring Nations did so in the Worship of their Gods.

* *Deut.* 32. 30. *Josh.* 23. 10. *Lew.* 26. 8.

† *Maim. Mor. Nevuch.* p. 3. c. 37.

For the same Reason he forbid them to * build him an Altar of hewn Stone, or with steps, and commanded the Priests at the Time of their Ministration to put on Breeches, in Opposition to the Pagan Rites which he taught his People to abhor, lest they should be † insnared with them. For after the Doings of the Land of *Egypt*, or after the Doings of the Land of *Canaan*, or after the Doings of the || *Zabians*, or other Idolatrous Nations, would he not let them do, lest they should follow after them, but designed by these *Gedarim* or Fence-Laws to make their Idolatrous Neighbours an Abomination to them, and them odious to their Idolatrous Neighbours; as of late Years the *Christians* hated the *Tartars* more for the Fashion of their Hair, than for invading their Country, and all the Mischief they suffered thereupon. Lastly, such is the Way which God took, like other Sovereign Princes, to punish the Sins of the Fathers upon the Children unto the third and fourth Generation; and destroying whole Families for the Rebellion of one man; which thing though they * are fairly solvable without the *Hypothesis*, yet they are more easily and naturally solved by it, by conceiving that Reasons of State obliged God in his Government to punish Rebels and Traitors in their Families and Posterities, as they are usually punished in

* *Id. p. 3. c. 45.*

† *Deut. 12. 30. 31.*

|| *Maim. Mor. Nevuch. l. 3. c. 30.*

* *Sanderfon's Sermon on 3 Kings 21. 19.*

other Governments of the World. I could
instance in other Particulars, as the *Jewish*
Law being so much enforced by temporal
Rewards and Punishments, &c. but I here con-
clude, hoping I have already said and hinted
enough to convince you how requisite it is for
the Understanding of the Scriptures ; the Pre-
vention and Cure of Enthusiasm ; the Confu-
sion of Heresies and Errors ; the Peace of
the Church ; the Regulation of Christian De-
votion ; and lastly, for begetting within the
Minds of Men a right Apprehension of the
Christian Religion, as the most sober and anti-
fanatical Doctrine that ever was, that all Men
be taught the Difference betwixt the Christian
and *Jewish* Oeconomy, *i. e.* that all Men be
taught to know, and consider the *Jews*, as the
chosen and adopted People of the Lord ; to
whom, and only to whom pertained the Adop-
tion, and the Glory, and the Covenants, and the
giving of the Law, and the Service of God, and
the Oracles, and the Prophecies, and the Pro-
mises ; whose are the Fathers, to whom he spake
at sundry Times, and in divers Manners, and of
whom as concerning the Flesh, Christ came ; Who
is God blessed for ever, and to whom and the
Father, with the Holy Ghost, be ascribed, &c.
Amen.

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Print

THE
TRUE NOTION
OF
Persecution Stated.
IN A
SERMON

Preach'd at the Time of the
Late CONTRIBUTION
FOR THE
French Protestants.

By GEORGE HICKES, D. D. Vicar of *Allhallows-
Barkin, London*, and Chaplain to his Grace the Duke
of *Lauderdale*.

Published at the earnest Request of many that heard it Preached.

The Second Edition.

ὁὐρ καὶ σαυροὺς, θηρίων τε συστάσεις, ἀνάτομαί, διαυρέσεις,
Σκορπισμοὶ ὁσίων, συσκοπαὶ μελῶν, ἀλυσμοὶ ὅλων τῶ Σώ-
ματι, καὶ κόλασις τῶ Διαβόλου ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἐρχέσθω ἵνα Ἰησοῦ
Χριστῷ ἐπιύχω. *Ignat. ad Rom.*

Ἰνδοσκέε, Ἀδελφοί, ὅτι ἡ ἐπιδημία ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τέτρω τῆς
Σαρκὸς ταύτης μικρὰ ἐστίν, καὶ ὀλιγοχρόνιος, ἡ δὲ ἐπαγγελ-
σία τῶ Χριστῷ μεγάλη, καὶ θαυμαστὴ ἐστίν, καὶ ἀνάπαυσις
τῆς μελλέουσας βασιλείας, καὶ ζωῆς αἰωνίου. *Clem. ad Cor.*
Ep. II.

L O N D O N,

Printed for JOHN CHURCHILL, at the *Black
Swan* in *Pater-Noster-Row*, 1713.



2 COR. iv. 9.

*persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down,
but not destroyed.*

The precedent Verse is this :

*we are troubled on every side, yet not distressed;
we are perplexed, but not in despair;
Persecuted, but ———*

THESE Words are spoken by Saint Paul, not of the Christians in general, but of the Apostles, who above all other Christians, were so obnoxious to Sufferings, because they preached the new Doctrine of the Gospel, which was the Destruction of all other Religions throughout the Jewish and Gentile World.

But because the Disciples, or Lay-Professors of Christianity have in all Ages and Governments suffered in Proportion with the Preachers of it, I shall consider the Words in general, as they regard the whole Body of any Christian Communion, that suffer in any common Persecution: The Pastors with their Flocks, the Teachers with their Hearers, the Clergy with the Laity. For it often so happens, that all that will live Godly shall suffer Persecution, and that the Professors of Christianity, be they

they Ministers, or People, must through many Tribulations and Afflictions, enter into the Kingdom of God.

For Christianity is a suffering Religion, and above all others exposeth its Professors to Persecution, because when the Supreme Power happens to be Infidel, Idolater or Heretic, and so sets it self against the Gospel in general, or any particular Truth of it, it becomes the Duty of all Christian Subjects to suffer, if they will not fly. There's no mean in the Gospel betwixt these two Extremes, denying the Faith, or * fighting in the Defence of it, being equal to damning Sins, for as it is written, *Whosoever denieth me before Men, him will I deny before my Father which is in Heaven* : So it is as plainly written, *Whosoever resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God, and they that resist shall receive to themselves Damnation*. And that we should in no Exigence do the one, or the other, but † chearfully suffer, or save ourselves by Flight, it is also written, *That every one, who shall forsake Houses, or Brethren, Sisters, or Father, or Mother, or Wife, Children, or Lands, or lose his Life for Christ*

* Just. Mart. Apol. 2. p. 64. Edit. par. 1615. dial. Tryph. p. 236, 323, 363.

† Ἀλλὰ ἀναστῆναι ἡμᾶς τὸ ὄνομα τῆ Χριστοῦ, ἀγωνιζομένους ὑμῶν, διὰ τὸ μᾶλλον αἰρέμεθα, καὶ ὑπομένομεν, πεπιστώμενοι ὅτι πᾶν ὅσα ἐπέχεται ὁ Θεὸς διὰ τῆ Χριστοῦ ἀγαθὰ παροίσει ἡμῖν, καὶ πρὸς τέτοις πᾶσιν εὐχόμεθα ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν—

Just. Mart. dial. cum Tryph. p. 323.

ke, and the Gospels, shall receive an hundred fold, and inherit Everlasting Life; and that they are blessed, who are persecuted for Righteousness sake, for theirs is the Kingdom of God.

Accordingly hath it been the practice of all good Christians to suffer or *fly*; for so we are led to speak, not that Flight is not one sort of suffering (for it implies forsaking of House, Relations, Lands and Country) but that it is the Custom of all Languages, to speak of the lesser Evil, as of a *Good*, and so *Flight* is, if it be compared with Death, Slavery, or bodily torments, which are more emphatically called sufferings, though really in it self it is also a great Degree of Suffering, for which the Person so flying from Persecution shall be rewarded with Everlasting Life.

I say it hath been the inviolable Practice of good Christians to suffer, or *fly*, and never resist; so the Primitive Christians did under *Nero*, *Arian* and *Apostate* Emperors; the *Waldenses* under *Pagano Christian*, or Popish Rulers, our own Ancestors in the Days of *Queen Mary*; and now our poor Brethren of the Reformed *French* Communion, who are hitherto in Assurance of his Majesty's Protection, and his Protestant Subjects Charity, to whom he, as it becomes so great a Patron of the Protestant Cause, hath most affectionately commended them, commanding us to stir you up to so good a Work, which I have chosen to do

do in a Discourse upon these Words, upon which I shall proceed in the following Method.

First, I shall shew what *Persecution* is, when Christians are truly said to be persecuted.

Secondly, I shall shew, That our Brethren the *French* Church are under a true Persecution or truly persecuted.

Thirdly, I shall shew you to what a degree they are persecuted.

And *Lastly*, I shall shew you, that it is an indispensable Duty to help, and assist them that now they are persecuted, they may not be destitute; nor quite destroyed, though they be cast down. *Persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed.*

I. I shall shew, what *Persecution* is, which is very necessary for me to do, because the true Notion of *Persecution* is generally mistaken. Men often miscalling that by the odious Name of *Persecution*, which is nothing, but the execution of just, and sometimes of necessary and wholesome Laws. Thus the *Moderate Jews* in their Writings speak of themselves as of a People, that are persecuted by the *Sons of Esau* throughout the whole World. The *Papists*, those in the *British* Dominions especially, complain, that they are persecuted by the *Hereticks*; and besides them, there are many other sorts among us, who make

Out-cries against Persecution, when their sufferings, if tried by the true Test of Persecution, would not, I am confident, appear to be such.

Therefore, that I may lay down the true notion of it, I must desire you to observe, that the Original Words in the *Old* and *New Testament*, as likewise the *Latin* Word for *Persecution*, and to *persecute*, properly signify to pursue, or run after another to stop him, or get before him; and from this Agonistical Acceptation of the Words, they are translated into a tropicall Sense, to signifie to prosecute, *pursue*, or attach *by Law*. I confess sometimes they signifie to pursue after another to kill him, and so come to be taken in a Military sense, to prosecute by the Sword; but because I am resolved to confine my Discourse to Legal, or pretended Legal Persecution, I shall take no notice of *Sword-Persecution* further, when it happens to the Subjects from the Magistrate, by virtue of the Law. To make this, which is the first Step of my Discourse, as plain as I can, I tell you again, that the Scriptural Words for to persecute, signifie to prosecute, or pursue by Law; And by Law I here understand, Law in the largest Sense, for the Will and Pleasure of the Supreme Authority, whereby the People that live under it, are commanded *to do*, or *not to do*, otherwise *to do*, or *bear doing* such and such Things.

M

Now

Now because in the several times wherein the several Books of the Old and New Testament were written, as well as in the Ages since, good Men were often prosecuted and pursued by Authoritative Orders, for *doing* of those Thing, which God had some way commanded, or for *not doing* of some Things which he had some way or other forbid ; therefore the Laws terms for *Prosecution* came in an especial Manner to signify *Persecution* ; which indeed is very seldom any thing else, but a * Legal, or in Case of Usurpation, or wresting the Laws a pretended Legal Prosecution under Authority, for not obeying where God prohibits for *doing* of any thing, which God hath any way commanded, or not *doing* of any thing which he hath any way forbid : as *Peter* and *John* said unto the *Sanhedrim*, † *Whether it is right in the Sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto him, judge ye.*

I have a Mind to make Sure-work, as I go and therefore I must repeat it once more, and tell you, that Persecution Actively taken consists in *Legally Prosecuting*, and Passively taken in being *Legally Prosecuted*, for not obeying Authority in those Things which God prohibits.

* *Postremo legum obstruitur autoritas*———Tert. Apol.

† *Tuis etiam obtemperaremus praeceptis, nisi instituti legibus Christianis demonum cultus, & aras semper pollatas sanguine vitamus.* Martyres Thebæ Leg. ex. Eucher. *ἀδίδαγμα δὲ ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἐξουσίαις ἰσὺς τῆς θεᾶς παραγμένας πρὸς τὴν ἀποστολὴν, τῇ μὴ βλάπτειν ἡμᾶς ἀπονέμειν.* Polycarp. Proconsul. in Smyrn. Ecclef. Epist.

bits : otherwise for prosecuting, or being prosecuted unto any Penalty for doing of those Things, which he hath any way commanded ; or forbearing, or refusing to do those Things, which he hath any way forbid. I have put in the Words *any way*, because there are two ways by which God the King of Kings makes his pleasure known unto Men, by right Reason, or the *Light of Nature*, and by Revelation, which we commonly call the *Light of Grace*.

Right Reason consists in the common Principles, which God hath implanted in all Mens Understandings, and the Conclusions which flow from them ; for as *Solomon* saith, *The Understanding of a Man, is the Candle of the Lord* ; and the Light of Natural Reason is his Light, who, as *Cicero* calls him in his First book of Laws, is *infinita mens & ratio*, infinite Understanding and Reason ; or as the *Platonists* allegorically style him, ἀρχέτυπον φῶς, Original Reason or Light.

As for the Light of Grace, or Revelation, there are many Sorts of it ; for God, as the apostle speaks, who at Sundry Times and in divers Manners spake in the Patriarchal and Jewish Times by Prophets, Oracular Responses, and Voices from Heaven, hath in these last Days spoken unto us by his Son, who was the Antitype of *Moses*, and by his Apostles, who were the Prophets of the New Testament ; and these two ways the Light of Nature, and Scriptural Revelation are the general

and ordinary Means, by which we come to know what is the Will of God.

Persecution therefore ordinarily speaking consists with Respect to the Persecutors in judicially prosecuting, and with Respect to the Persecuted in being judicially Prosecuted unto any Penalty for doing those Things which God hath commanded by the Light of Nature, or Scriptural Revelation; or for not doing of those Things, which he hath forbidden by either, or both of those two Ways. This is the true Notion of Persecution, which consists not in the Greatness of any Man's Sufferings, which inconsiderate People chiefly look at, but in the Righteousness of the Cause for which he suffers: For if he be pursued for doing any Thing against the Law, or Government, under which he lives, that God hath not commanded, or for not doing of those Things, which God hath not forbid, he is not persecuted, but justly prosecuted for Disobeying the Powers, which God hath bound him to obey.

This is most agreeable to our Saviour's Notion of Persecution, *Matth. 5. 10. Blessed are they, who are persecuted for Righteousness sake, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven.* To the Understanding of which Words, I desire you to take Notice, that *Righteousness* in the Scripture-style, when it doth not signifie *just Dealing* or (as it sometimes doth by an Hebraism

* *Mercy*

* *Mercifulness*, is taken for Vertue, or Religion in its full Latitude, or Obedience unto God. In this Sense, Righteousness, and the righteous Man, are opposed to Wickedness, and the wicked Man, *Ezek. 3. 19. 20. If thou warn the wicked Man* (saith God unto the Prophet) *and he turn not from his Wickedness* — Again, *when a righteous Man doth not turn from his Righteousness, &c.* And in this Sense of Righteousness saith our Saviour to his Disciples, *Except your Righteousness, i. e. except your Religion and Obedience to God exceed that of the Scribes and Pharisees, you shall in no Case enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.* So saith he, *Matth. 6. 33. First seek the Kingdom of God i. e. the Gospel, and its Righteousness,* that is, the Religion and Obedience, which the Gospel prescribes, *And all these Things shall be added unto you.* According to this Sense of the Word *Righteousness* Saint Luke saith of *Zacharias and Elizabeth*, that *they were Righteous before God, walking in all the Commandments and Ordinances of the Lord blameless.* And as *Righteousness* signifies Obedience, and Religion in general: so it signifies also any particular Divine Institution, or the Performance of any particular Duty under any Divine Institution, as God is pleased to order and command. Thus the *Righteousness of the Law*, *Phil. 3. 6.* signifies the Performance of all those Commands and Ordinances, which God requi-

* *Psal. 112. 9. Prov. 11. 18. Psal. 37. 21, 25. Math. 1. 19.*

red of the *Jews* and *Profelytes* under the Old Testament; and the *Righteousness of Faith*, Rom. 4. 13. signifies the Performance of all those Duties, which God requires of Christians under the New. The one signifies the *Jewish* Religion, which consisted in obeying of *Moses*; the other the *Christian*, which consists in obeying of *Christ*: that consisted in keeping the *Old Law*, and this in observing the *Gospel*, which the Primitive * Writers in their Discourses with the *Jews*, usually called the *New*; nay, as general words are frequently taken in particular Significations: so this Word is taken for any particular Act, or Object of Obedience to God, as *Matth.* 3. 15. when *John* forbad *Jesus* to be Baptized of him, *Jesus* who knew that God required it of him, saith unto *John*, *Suffer it to be so, for thus it becometh us to fulfil all Righteousness*, i. e. thus it is our Duty for me to confirm, and approve thy imperfect Ministry, and for thee to let it be so confirmed, because it is the Pleasure of God.

From all this it is plain, that to be persecuted for Righteousness sake, signifies to be persecuted for Obedience unto God, and therefore neither the Person, nor the Sufferings, but the Cause which makes Persecution: so that when

* *Neomenias vestras, & dies festos—hæc ergo vacua fecit* N. Lex Domini nostri *Jesus Christi*, Epist. Barnab.—ὁ γὰρ ἐν παλαιῶς ἤδη νόμῳ, καὶ ὑμῶν μόνων. ὁ δὲ πάντων ἀπλῶς. νόμος κατὰ νόμον πεθεῖς τὸν παρὰ αὐτῷ ἔπαυσε—αἰώνιος τε ἡμῖν νόμος καὶ πληρωτὸς ὁ χριστὸς ἐδόξη. Just. Mart. dial. cum Tryph.

Men are prosecuted by Authority for any other Cause, but for Righteousness, *i. e.* for Religion, as Religion is taken for Obedience to God's Laws, let them complain, and pretend as much as they please, they are not persecuted, but justly punished for Disobedience to the Supreme Power. They suffer not for God's sake, but their own; they suffer not as Martyrs, and Confessors, but as Malefactors. This Consideration made Saint Peter in his first Epistle general — distinguish so carefully between suffering as a Malefactor, and suffering as a Christian, *Cap. 4. 14, 15. If ye be reproached for the Name of Christ, happy are you — But let none of you suffer * as a Murderer, or as a Thief, or as an Evil-doer, or as a Busie-body in Things that belong not unto him; yet if any Man suffer as a Christian, let him not be ashamed, but glorify God on this behalf.* In the 2d. Chap. 13. *he charged them to submit themselves to every Ordinance of Man, whether it were to the Emperour, or his subordinate Magistrates for the Lord's Sake, as free indeed in a spiritual Sense from any Yokes, but not to lose their Christian Freedom, as a Cloak for their Malignity, but as the Servants of God.* When from Subjects he proceeds to the Servants or Slaves, who you may be sure suffered much from Jewish, and Heathen Masters upon Account of the Christian Religion; and he

Orat. Lucii Mart. ad Urbicium Praefect. Just. M. Apol. 1.

M 4

tells

tells them that it was * acceptable to God, if Man for Conscience towards God endured grief and Suffering wrongfully. And in the 3^d. Chapter after he had charged all Christians, as being the best Way to avoid Sufferings, to refrain their Tongues, to eschew Evil, to do Good and seek Peace, *Who is he* (saith he) *that will harm you, if ye be Followers of that which is good; but if notwithstanding all this, ye choose to suffer for Righteousness Sake, happy are ye, and be not afraid of their Terrour, neither be troubled:* and lastly, in the 4th. Chapter he resumes the Argument again, in the Words which I cited above, concluding that they that suffered according to the Will of God, should commit the keeping of their Souls unto him as unto a faithful Creatour.

Accordingly, there is scarce any one Place in the New Testament, where Sufferings or Persecution are mentioned, but it is with Respect to the Christian Religion: as, *Blessed are ye when Men shall revile you, and persecute you, say all manner of Evil of you falsely for my sake. Whosoever shall loose his Life for my sake, the Gospels, the same shall save it: Verily, verily, I say unto you, that there is no Man that hath left Houses, or Brethren, or Sisters, or Father, or, &c. for my sake, and the Gospels, he shall receive an hundred Fold, now in this time with Persecutions, and in the World to come Eternal Life.*

* *Χαίρει τῷ Θεῷ. Cod. Alex.*

From which Places it is evident, that Persecution consists in suffering for *Christ's* Sake, or for the Sake of the Christian Religion, or any Truth of it, or for obeying God in any Particular of it, after the same manner that the Prophets, or holy Men of old used to suffer under the Law, or Jewish Oeconomy; as our Saviour said, *Blessed are you, when Men shall revile you, and persecute you, &c. Rejoyce and be exceeding glad, for great is your Reward in Heaven, for so persecuted they the Prophets, which were before you.* Accordingly *Acts. 5. 41.* 'tis said, that the Apostles departed from the Presence of the Council, where they were beaten, shewing that they were counted worthy to suffer for his Name.

To put all this together, Persecution from the Civil Magistrate (for to that I chiefly restrain my Discourse) consists in inflicting, or suffering any sort of Evil, or to any Degree, for Righteousness Sake; for Religion's Sake; for *Christ's* Sake; for the Gospel's Sake; for *Christ's* Name Sake; for Christianities Sake; in a Word, to suffer as the Prophets and Apostles did of old, who in all their Sufferings were reduced to this sad Necessity, of disobeying God or the Civil Authority, as *Peter* and the other Apostles answered, and said to the Sanhedrim, the second Time, when they commanded them to preach no more in the Name of *Jesus*, *We ought to obey God, rather than Man.*

The

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The

The general Notion of Persecution, and of Christian Persecution withal being thus stated we may easily perceive, that a Man can be persecuted but upon two Accounts, for Matters of professed Faith, or *Principles*, or Matters of Practice.

Upon the former Account a Man is truly persecuted, when he is prosecuted for teaching or professing any Truth, or true Doctrine which he is bound by God to teach or profess or for disowning or denying any Error or false Doctrine, which he is bound by God to disown or deny. I have made this Distinction between owning of true, and disowning of false Doctrines, with respect to the several Ways in which Men are wont to express their Minds in affirmative or negative Propositions, although both Ways of speaking virtually and really are the same thing; As he that asserts *Jesus* to be *Christ*, doth virtually deny this blasphemous Proposition, *Jesus is not Christ*; and he that denieth this blasphemous Proposition, *Jesus is not Christ*, doth virtually assert that *Jesus is Christ*. Thus in all Things the affirming of Truth is a virtual denying of the opposite Error, and the denying of the opposite Error, an affirming of the contrary Truth; and great is the Number of Martyrs, who have been truly persecuted upon these Accounts.

So *Socrates* was persecuted to Death by the Laws and Magistrates of *Athens*, for asserting the

the true God, or denying the false. He asserted that there was but one God and Father of all, who made Heaven and Earth; and that the Gods whom the *Athenians* worshipped were mere Idols, the Work of Mens Hands. For this Reason *Justin Martyr* represents him in part as a * Christian, and among those whom wicked Men, by the Instinct of the Devil, persecuted for Righteousness sake.

He died a Martyr for Natural Religion, in the Defence of a Doctrine which God had taught him by the Light of Nature, was not only true, but such a Truth as was his Duty to propagate and maintain.

So likewise the Primitive Christian Professors were persecuted both by the *Jews* and *Gentiles*, for teaching and professing the Doctrines of the Christian Religion, and for denying the obligation or Validity of the Law of *Moses*, and the *Pagan* Idols to be true Gods.

So much for Persecution upon Matters of Faith or Principles; and Persecution for Matters of Practice is likewise *two-fold*, for Matters of *Divine Worship*, which concern the First Table, or for Matters of Justice and Charity, which concern the Second.

With respect to the former, a Man is persecuted either upon a *negative Account*, for not denying of God, or, Secondly, For not Worshipping a false God in Opposition to him; as the Three Children in *Daniel* were persecuted,

* *Apol.* 1. p. 48. † *Apol.* 2. p. 55.

for not Worshipping the Golden Image of *Nebuchadnezzar* ; the Primitive Christians for not
 * swearing by the Emperor, and his *Genius*, for
 not † sacrificing to Idols, and the Emperor
 || Statue ; and the *Albigenses* for not Worshipping
 of Saints and Angels, and the *Host*, which
 the Papists call their Breaden God ; or, Thirdly,
 ly, For Worshipping of him in an undue manner ;
 ner ; Whether it be *positively so*, as the Primitive
 Christians were persecuted by the Jews for not
 Worshipping of God according to the Jewish
 manner, after it was abrogated, or *naturally so*,
 as the Protestants are persecuted for not Worshipping
 of him according to the corrupt manner of the
 Papists, which is polluted with the Worship of
 Creatures, and with many Sacrilegious, Idolatrous,
 and truly Superstitious Rites and Ceremonies,
 which utterly deprave and defile the Religious
 Offices to which they belong.

Or Secondly, upon a *positive* Account, for
 Worshipping the true God, as *Daniel* was persecuted
 for worshipping of God as afore-timed after the
 Decree of *Darius* was made, not to ask any
 Petition of God or Man for Thirty Days, except
 of the King.

So likewise with respect to Matters of Justice
 and Charity, a Man is also persecuted

* *Ecclesiasticus. Smyr. Epist. de Polycarp. Mart.*

† *Omnes Dei cultores sacrificare, vel mori cogebat.* Martyr Ignat.

|| *Epist. ad Trajan. l. 10. 97.*

on two Accounts, either for not doing of
 something, which is unjust or uncharitable, as
 the *Egyptian* Midwives were in danger of being
 persecuted by *Pharaoh*, for not murdering the
brew Infants; and many of the Primitive
 Christians for not betraying or delivering up
 their Brethren into the Hands of the Persecu-
 tions, or for doing some Just or charitable Acti-
 ons, which ought to have been done; as many
 of the Primitive Christians, and Protestants
 have been persecuted for Harboursing and Re-
 ceiving their distressed Brethren, and many of
 His Majesty's Loyal Subjects for Harboursing,
 relieving and Assisting of him.

These are all the Cases, for which a Man or-
 dinarily speaking can be persecuted. It must
 be for Matters of Faith, or Matters of Practice,
 or Matters of Divine Worship, which belong
 to the first, or Matters of Justice and Charity,
 which belong to the second Table of the Law.
 Righteousness, or Matters of Religion, for
 which a Man can be truly persecuted, are re-
 ceivable I say to *Faith* or *Practice*; and all
 Matters of *Faith* are either *such as are necessary*
to be known, that they are revealed, and they are
few, or that are necessary to be believed when
they are known, and they may be very many;
 and all Matters of Practice in short are such, as
 God hath made it either absolutely necessary,
 in such Circumstances for Man to do, or

Clem. ad Cor. Epist. c. 54. p. 114. Edit. Oxon. 1677. Rom.

not

not to do. But if Men will believe Things to be Articles of Faith, which God never made so; and also makes Rules for Matters of Christian Practice, and Communion which God never made; if they will believe false, or impious, or uncertain Doctrines to be certain and true, and set up new Notions, which Primitive and Virgin Christianity never understood or professed, and revive old Errors and Heresies, which were condemned by the Catholic Church: In a Word, if they will impose upon their own, and other Mens Consciences, and teach for Doctrines of God the Traditions and Inventions of private Men, let them suffer never so much, or be never so much perswaded by their own Consciences of the Truth of them, yet they cannot be persecuted for them, though when they are honestly minded with their erroneous Consciences, and their Errors do not tend to the publick Disturbance, nor thwart the common Fundamentals of Christianity, they may be too severely used.

I say, Men that coin new Doctrines and Rules, and Precepts for Christian Practice and Communion which God never made, let them suffer never so much from Authority in the Defence of them, yet they are not persecuted, but rightfully punished; and suffer not as Christians, but as Criminals; and though God will be merciful to their Mistakes, when they proceed not from an ill Mind, and pardon their Ignorance, when it is not wilful and affected

et they can neither suffer as Confessors nor Martyrs, nor shall they receive the promised reward for their Sufferings in the World to come.

No! whosoever is truly persecuted must suffer for Doctrines and Laws, which God hath given us, for the common Principles of Christianity, and not for private Fancies and Inventions; and therefore when you hear Men cry out of Persecution, consider for what Scriptural Truth, for what Article of the Creed, for what * Catholick Principle, for what part of

Because I have here made mention of the common Principles of Christianity, which I call Catholick Principles, I will here explain my self in the Words of the most Learned Beverege, who hath deserved so well of the Church Catholick, in his *Proæmium* before his *Codex Canonum Vindicatus*. *pergrande hoc omnium cujusque seculi Christianorum corpus, Catholica sive universa Ecclesia vulgo appellatur, ut ubique, semper constitutum attenti perlustremus, certa quedam quasi munia in eo deprehendemus principia, quæ totum percurrunt, quæque illius partes & sibi invicem, & capiti connectunt. Eius primum, illudque è quo cætera oriuntur, est, Sacram Scripturam sive vetus novumque Testamentum, Divinitus esse inspiratam—Verum enimvero hæc sacra Scriptura, etiamsi in quæ ad cujusque salutem absolute sunt necessaria, præceptis summa sit & omnibus manifesta; quantum tamen ad doctrinam, & externam Ecclesiæ disciplinam, ea pro ipsâ suâ altitudinem uno eodemque sensu ab omnibus accipitur—ut observavit Vincent. Lirinensis, & ex hæreticis, & schismaticis satis quæ constat, qui nempe singuli pravæ suas opiniones, præsumptè sacris Scripturis suo modo interpretatis, eliciunt. In quomodolibet itaque rebus si non errandi, nec offendendi certi esse debemus, imprimis procul omni dubio cavendum est, nè privæ nostris aliorum opinionibus, aut conjecturis, pertinaces nî adhareamus, sed nobiscum potiùs recolamus, quid universa Ecclesia, vel maxima saltem pars Christianorum de istis sentiat, & in eâ acquiescamus sententiâ, in quam Christiani omnia secula consenserunt: quemadmodum enim omni in re consensus omnium vox naturæ est, ut ait Cicero, sic etiam in hujusmodi*

hujusmodi rebus consensus omnium Christianorum vox Evangelii meritò habeatur. Multa autem sunt, quæ licet in sacris Scripturis expresse, ac definite, non legantur, communi tamen omnium Christianorum consensione ex iis eruantur. Ex. gr. Tres distinctas in sacrosanctâ Trinitate Personas venerandas esse, Patrem Filium & Spiritum Sanctum, hosque singulos verum esse Deum, & tamen unum tantummodo esse Deum: Christum Deum & hominem esse verè Deum ac verè hominem in unâ eademque personâ. Hæc & similia, quamvis totidem verbis ac syllabis nec in veteri, nec in novo instrumento tradantur, de iis tamen, ut utroque fundatis inter omnes semper convenit Christianos, demptis tantummodo paucis quibusdam hæreticis, quorum in religione haud major habenda est ratio, quam monstrorum in naturâ. Sic etiam Infantibus sacro Baptismate abluendos esse, & sponsores ad illud Sacramentum adhibendos: dominicum sive primam per singulas septimanas feriam religiosè observandam esse: Passionis Resurrectionis & Ascensionis Domini ad Cælum, nec non Spiritûs Sancti adventûs commemorationem per singulos annos peragendam: Ecclesiam ubique per Episcopos à Presbyteris distinctos, iisque Prælatos administrandam esse. Hæc—per mille & quadringentos ab Apostolis annos in publicum Ecclesiæ usum ubique recepta fuerunt, nec ullam intra illud tempus invenimus Ecclesiam in ea non consentientem, adde ut quasi communes sententiones omnium ab origine Christianorum animis insitæ, non tam ex ullis particularibus Scripturæ locis, quam ex omnibus: ex generali totius Evangelii scopo, & tenore, ex ipsa religionis in eo stabilita natura & proposito, atque ex constanti denique Apostolorum traditione, qui Ecclesiasticos hujusmodi ritus, & generales, ut ita loquar, Evangelii interpretationes per universam terrarum orbem unâ cum fide propagarunt. Alioquin enim non credibile, imò verè impossibile prorsus esset, ut tam unanimi consensione ubique & semper ab omnibus reciperentur. Vide etiam Cassandri defensionem officii pii viri, adversus Calvinum.

Christianity, for what Gospel-Doctrine they suffer, or in Obedience to what Gospel-Law; for 'tis no matter how much they are perswaded to their own Consciences, and to what degree they suffer; but do you enquire after their Opinions, and then try if they are any part of Christianity; and if upon Trial they be not found to be so, their Clamour and Noise about Persecution

persecution must be unjust and vain. As for
 example, There is now a loud Cry among the
 pists, of the Persecution of the Catholicks
 (as they mis-call themselves) and of the per-
 secuting Laws against the Catholicks in Eng-
 land; but suppose all our Laws were executed
 against them, for what Article of the Creed,
 or what Gospel-Doctrine, or Precept, for
 what Catholick Principle, or for what part of
 Christianity would these Pseudo-Catholicks suf-
 fer? Are these Gospel-Truths or Catholick Prin-
 ciples, that the Bishop of *Rome* is *Christ's* Vicar-
 general, and that he is Supreme above all other
 Bishops of the Catholick Church? Can they
 prove either by the Scriptures, or by Univer-
 sal Tradition, that he is infallible either in the
 Chair, or out of it, and that there is no Sal-
 vation to be had without the Pale and Commu-
 nion of his Church? Are these, not to menti-
 on Transubstantiation, Image-Worship, the In-
 vocation of Saints and Angels, praying in an
 unknown Tongue, &c. any parts of the Chri-
 stian System; or did the Primitive Christians,
 so much as one Church of Primitive Chri-
 stians know or profess these Things? No!
 They are not Articles of Faith, nor Gospel Do-
 ctrines, nor common Notions of Christianity,
 Contradictions to all these, and the Do-
 ctrines and Traditions of Men.

In like manner, not to mention the late * Ma-
 jors in *Scotland*, our dissenting Brethren

Mitchel, King, Kid. Hackston, &c.

N

here

here have made grievous Cries about Persecution, and their Writings are full of Reflexions upon the persecuting Laws, and of Invective against the Makers of the Law for Uniformity; but for what Gospel Truth or Precept For what Catholick Principle, or for Obedience to what Law of *Jesus Christ* did they ever yet suffer, or can they suffer by those Laws? Is this a Gospel Doctrine, or Catholick Principle, that the Original Government of the Church was *Presbyterian*, and that the Government of it by Bishops above Presbyters, and distinct from them, is an Alteration of the Original Government, and an Usurpation over the Church of God? If it be, let them shew us when this Disparity of Bishops from Presbyters began? Let them assign the Time of this universal Aberration and Apostasie from the Primitive Platform; whether it was done in the Time of the Apostles, or in the Time next unto them. If it was done in their Time let them tell us whether it was done with the Consent, or without it; or if in the Times next unto them, let them tell us the Names of the *Diotrepheses*, who did first attempt or attempt it; let them shew us so much as one Record that doth make mention of it; or let them shew us how so great an Alteration was made by over the Presbyters, and over the Church, yet not one Church or Presbyter assert it Right? Or how it came to pass for Example that *Ignatius* an Holy Martyr, Presbyter

And

Antioch, should so early usurp the Ecclesiastical Government of * *Syria* at a Time when there were such vast Multitudes of Christians in it, and elsewhere, that † *Tiberianus* President of *Palestine*, told the Emperor *Trajan*, under whom he suffered, that he was wearied with punishing and killing the *Galilæans*; and ‖ *Pliny* Proprætor of *Bithynia*, told the same Emperor, that the Christian Religion had so infected the Cities, Towns, and Villages in his Province, that the Heathen Temples were become desolate and unfrequented; or if Bishops then had not many particular Congregations under their Inspection, how should the same Holy Martyr in his Epistle to the Church of * *Smyrna* distinguish between Personal Communion with the Bishop, and with another Minister licensed by him, and disallow all other Communions but such? In like manner is it a Gospel-Doctrine, or Catholick Principle, that Book-Forms of Prayer are unlawful; or that God cannot be so worthily worshipped by them, or in so spiritual a manner, as by extemporary Prayers? Is there one Place in the

* Ad Rom. ἀσπτε τῷ πατρὶ ὅτι τὸ Ἐπίσκοπον Συρίας κα-
τηξίωσεν ὁ Θεός.—

† Epist. ad Trajan. ἀπὸ λαὸν φονέων καὶ πτωχέων τὰς
Γαλιλαίας.—

‖ Neque enim civitates tantum sed vicus atque etiam agros su-
perscriptionis istius contagio pervagata est.— satis constat
prope jam desolata templa.—

Ἐκείνη βεβαία εὐχαιρία ἡγεῖται, ἡ ἵνα τὸ Ἐπίσκοπον
ἴσῃ, ἡ ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐπιτίθει.

Bible that prefers *extemporary* before prescribed Forms of Prayer? Doth the Practice of the Catholick Church prefer those before these? Or is there any thing in Scripture or Antiquity to shew, that it is a Sin for a Minister to wear a Linen Garment, when he officiates in the Church. Are National Churches unlawful, or inconsistent with the Progress of the Christian Religion, or the Notion of Christian Union and Communion? Doth either the Gospel, or any thing in Christianity teach us, that the use of Ceremonies is unlawful in Divine Worship? Or that the Sign of the * Cross is now become unlawful in the Office of Baptism? Are these Christian Doctrines or Precepts, that the People have a right to chuse their own Ministers; that no Power upon Earth, at least no Secular Power, can silence or suspend a Minister; that Infant-Baptism is unlawful; or that the Scripture is the Adequate Rule of Conscience and Practice; or that nothing ought to be instituted in the Service and Worship of God, which he hath not commanded or approved in his Word?

Are any of these, not to mention others, Articles of Faith, or Gospel-Doctrines, or Catholick Principles? If they be, how came they to lie so long undiscovered, and never to

* Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 2. ἐστὶ Βαπτισμα, ἐπὶ εὐλογίᾳ, ἐστὶ μαρτυρία σφραγίς. Tertul. de Resur. Caro abluitur—caro signatur. De Corona. Ad omnem—frontem Crucis signaculo terimus.

be found out, but by a few particular Men among us, some about an Hundred, and some about Thirty and Forty Years ago? What, were all Christian Doctors before Popery, and all since the Reformation from it, but a few Dissenters of these Countries, blind, that they could never yet discern these Doctrines in the Scriptures, neither in express Terms, nor in the Scope and Tenour of them? These Doctrines, which would make the Professors of them now separate from all National Establishments of the Protestant Religion, as well as ours, and which must have obliged them, had they lived in the first and best Ages of Christianity, to have separated from all the Churches in the World.

For there were * Bishops over several Congregations superior to, and distinct from Presbyters in the Apostles Times; and the Christian Writers of the next Age to them, upon whose Authority we take the Books of the *New Testament* to be their Writings, did teach and believe the Office of such a Bishop to be

* As *James* at *Jerusalem*, and *S. John* the Apostle at *Ephesus*, both which as a Sign of the High-Priesthood (for *S. Clement* compares the Bishop to the High-Priest, c. 40. ep. ad Cor. wore the *πετάλον*, the Pontifical Crown, or Frontlet, wherein was written *Holiness to the Lord*, *Euseb. lib. 5. c. 24. Epiphanius in her. Nazar. & in her. 78. Mark at Alexandria*, who also is said to have wore the Pontifical Frontlet. *Vales. not. ad l. 5. c. 24. Euf. not to mention Clement, Caius, Archippus, Onesimus, Euodias, Timothy, Titus, Ignatius, &c.* who were all such Bishops according to Catholick Antiquity.

the Ordinance of God. And in those pure and Virgin-Times of Christianity, they worshipped God by Forms of Prayer, used Ceremonies in his Worship, united into * Metropolitan, which answer to our National Churches, used the Sign of the Cross at all sorts of Devotion, received their Ministers from their Bishops, at whose Election, it is true, they used to signify their Approbation, as the People were wont to do at our King's Coronation: But they never poll'd at them, nor properly speaking gave any vote. In those Days also, in the pure and Virgin-Ages of Christianity, while the Disciples of the Apostles governed the Church, the Bishops silenced and deposed Presbyters, who were not so much as to † preach, or administer any Sacrament, without their Leave and Consent. They then also used and instituted many Ceremonies, of which we have no Account, neither Precept nor Example in the Word of God. Shall I mention some? They always mixed || Water with the Sacramental Wine, to signify that the Blood of Christ had a cleansing Virtue in it, which Mystery was also, as they believed, represented by the Water which flow'd with the Blood from

* Euseb. l. 3. c. 23. Can. Ap. 34. Conc. Antioch. c. 9.

† Ignat. ad Smyrn. Philadelph. Trull. Can. Apost. 39. Tert. de Baptismo, c. 17. Concil. Ancyra. c. 13. Concil. Laod. c. 56. Hier. advers. Lucifer.

|| Just. Mart. Apol. 2. Conc. sext. in Trull. c. 32. Conc. Cart. Can. 40.

* Just.

† Resp.

|| Tertu.

Isaac.

* Plin.

† Resp.

|| Rom.

† 1 Cor.

|| 1 Cor.

OU

our Saviour's Side. They sent * Portions of the Sacramental Bread to the sick and absent, to signifie, that they were Partakers of the same Sacrifice, and belonged to the same Altar; and they worshipped God towards the † East. They gave || Milk and Honey to drink unto baptized Persons, to signifie, that they were like new-born Babes, who ought to desire the sweet and sincere Milk of the Word. They sung *Psalms* * alternately at the Holy Eucharist: They stood up in all their Devotions from † *Easter* till *Whitsontide*, to signifie, that *Christ* was risen from the dead. They observed the four Apostolical Holidays, the Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension of our Lord, and the Descent of the Holy Ghost. Nay, even in the Apostles Days they || dipped baptized Persons over the head, and let them remain a little space under Water, to signifie, that they were buried with *Christ* in Baptism. They also then had * Love-Fests, joined with the Holy Eucharist; the † Salutation of the Holy Kiss; and observed the Jewish Custom of saying the *Hebrew* Word || *Amen* at the Conclusion of every Prayer.

* *Just. Mart. loc. cit.*

† *Resp. ad quæst. 118. ad Orthodox.*

|| *Tertull. Clemens Alexan. & forsan Barnab. Epist. p. 223. E-*

t. Isaac. Voss.

* *Plin. cit. Epist.*

† *Resp. ad quæst. ad Orthodox. 115.*

|| *Rom. 6. 4. * 1. Cor. 11.*

† *1 Cor. 16. 20. 1 Thess. 5. 26. Just. Mart. Apol. 11.*

|| *1 Cor. 14. 16. Just. Mart. Apol. 11.*

These were the general, besides the particular Ceremonies of particular Churches; and in one Word, there was never any Separation made or thought of in any of the Primitive Ages of Christianity, upon the Account of Ceremonies; and therefore since the Belief and Practice of God's Universal Church in the first and best Ages, are contrary to the Doctrines and Precepts, by which our dissenting Brethren in vain attempt to justify their Separation, How can they be Doctrines and Precepts of the Gospel? How can they be Catholick Principles, or Parts of Christianity? And how can they be persecuted in the Defence thereof? No! they are no Parts of Christianity, no Laws nor Doctrines of the Gospel, but meer humane Inventions, mere humane Fancies and Opinions, and most of them modern Opinions too. Primitive Christians never heard nor thought of such Things and Notions, but they have been invented and advanced to justify the Schismatical Practices of some Men, who have not brought their Works to the Rule, but the Rule, I mean the Gospel, to their Works. In a Word, they are all Novelties, or renewed Errors; all Impious, False, or most uncertain Notions; and those that teach them, be who they will, teach Doctrines of God the Traditions and Opinions of Men.

II. But this is not the case of our poor *French* Brethren ; 'tis not for these, nor any such Opinions as these, that they suffer, but for professing such true, and denying such false Doctrines, as God hath obliged them to profess and deny ; and for disobeying their King, in doing or not doing of those Things which God hath commanded them to do, or not to do. This is the second Part of my Discourse, wherein, after having stated the true Notion of Persecution, I told you I would prove they are truly persecuted ; which you may perceive I can do no other Way, but by shewing, that they suffer for Righteousness sake, for Religion's sake, for the Truths of the Gospel, and in Defence of the Gospel-Laws. The case is really with them, as it was with the Apostles and Primitive Christians ; they are under a Necessity of disobeying the Supreme Authority, in not conforming to the *Gallican Church*, because the Doctrine and Worship of it are plainly inconsistent with the Doctrines of the Gospel, and the Evangelical worship of God. As for Example, The Gospel hath commanded us not to worship Angels, as in *Coloss. 2. 18.* *Let no Man* (saith the Apostle) *deceive you of your Reward, in a voluntary Humility, and worshipping of Angels :* And *Rev. 19. 20.* when Saint *John* fell at the Angel's Feet to worship him, *See* (saith the blessed Spirit) *thou do it not, for I am thy fellow Servant.* But the *Gallican Church*, like all the rest of the
Papal

Papal Communion, teacheth and practiseth the Worshipping of Angels, and maketh solemn Invocations, not only of the Angels and Arch-angels in general, but of this and that Angel by their proper Names.

The Gospel plainly forbiddeth praying in an unknown Tongue, because he that speaketh in a Tongue unknown to the People, speaketh not unto Man (as the Apostle argues) but unto God and the Air; and he that so speaketh is a *Barbarian* unto the People, because they know not the Meaning of his Voice; yet notwithstanding all that is so expressly written upon this Matter, 1 Cor. 14. the *Gallican Church* useth Latin-offices, and their publick Worship is all in Latin, which the People do not understand.

The Gospel teacheth, that as there is but one God; so there is but one Mediatour betwixt God and Man, the Man *Christ Jesus*, to whom alone we must pray to make intercession for us to God: but the *Gallican Church* prays to * Saints and Angels, and above all, to the † blessed Virgin to make Intercession for them: So that if Her Prayers were in the Mother-tongue the People could not joyn in Her Worship, without committing Idolatry against God, and Blasphemy against *Jesus Christ*.

* Dom. quinta post Epiph. ad poscenda suffragia Sanctorum Oratio in octava Sancti Steph. ut pro nobis intercessor existat.

† De Sancta Maria Oratio in all their Masses, ———— ut quæ verè eam genitricem Dei credimus, ejus apud te intercessionibus adjuvemur. Oratio in Circumcisione Domini, ———— ipsam pro nobis intercedere sentiamus ————

The Gospel assureth us, that *Jesus Christ* ascended into Heaven, and there sitteth at the right Hand of God, to make Intercession for us, and that he was once offered up for all, and by one offering of himself, perfected for ever them that are sanctified: but the *Gallians*, like all other Popish Churches, teacheth, that he is bodily present, and bodily offered up in the Sacrifice of the Masse, and that his real flesh and Bones are eaten, when the consecrated wafer is eaten, and that the *Hostie*, as they call the great Wafer, which they expose, and carry about, is the * very *Christ*.

This they keep in a Box on purpose, and on solemn Days carry it in Procession, as the *Pagans* did their Idols, to be adored; and where-ever it is met, there the People must kneel down and Worship; and wheresoever the Priest makes a Stand, there must Prayers be offered up unto it, as unto the very *Christ*. The Heathens were never guilty of more foolish, and absurd Idolatry than this. The worshipping of a Leek, or an Onion, or Head of Garlick, as the *Egyptians* did,

Urbanus VIII. in his Preface before the Missal, begins thus. *Si quid est in rebus humanis planè divinum, quod nobis imitari cives (si in eos invidia caderet) invidere possent, id certè SS. Missæ Sacrificium, cujus Beneficio fit, ut homines quædam participatione possideant in Terris Cælum, dum ante oculos habent manibus contrectent cæli terræque conditorem.*

Especially the two Corpus Christi Days, called by the *Gallian* Church, *Festes de Dieu, the Feasts of God.*

is not more against common Sense and Reason than the Worshipping of a Wafer, the Work of a Baker, or Confectioner's Hand. And then as to the Elements to be received in the Holy Eucharist, the Gospel saith expressly, that at the Institution of it, our Lord *took Bread, and brake it, and gave it to his Disciples, saying Take, eat, this is my Body* — likewise that he *took the Cup, saying Drink ye all of this; for* — This is related in the same manner by Saint Paul, 1 Cor. 11. where he also saith, *Who* *soever eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh Damnation to himself.* Accordingly the Primitive universal Church administered it exactly after Christ's Institution, as is evident out of * *Ignatius*, † *Justin Martyr*, &c. And all succeeding Ages followed this Primitive Practice, and still doth follow it throughout the || universal Church, except the Church of Rome, which began above five hundred Years since to take away the Cup from the People for fear (O superstitious Souls!) that they should spill the Blood. Yet the *Gallican Church* for all her fine Pretences to Liberty, still continues so strictly Popish, that she deprives the People of the Cup, although the Saviour pretends to worship, Proleptically Speaking of this Holy Sacrament, saith, *Whosoever*

* *Ad Philadelph. iv ποτηριον.*

† *Apol. 2.*

|| *Cassand. de Sacra Com.*

eth my Flesh, and drinketh my Blood, bath eternal Life.

What shall I say of the abominable Doctrines of *Supremacy, Infallibility, and Purgatory*, which she alloweth with all the Practices that follow thereupon, and of her *Image-worship, and Cross-worship, and Crucifix worship*? Not to mention her Ceremonies, which for their Number are intolerable, and for their Nature such as vilifie, pollute and deprave the Worship of God. These are the Things which make our *French Brethren* dissent from the publick Establishment. There is a plain Opposition betwixt the Doctrines and Worship set forth in the Gospel, and the Doctrines and Worship of the *Gallican Church*. They cannot conform unto it, nor live in the Communion of it, and be true to this Gospel; nor obey their Prince in this Particular, because Obedience unto him would be Disobedience unto God.

They have no Quarrel at the Church, because it is Episcopal, but because it is Popish; for * though they have not Bishops, yet their

* *Calv. ad Sadol.* If the Bishops would so rule, as to submit themselves to *Christ*, then if there shall be any that shall not submit themselves to that Hierarchy, reverently, and with the greatest Obedience that may be, there is no kind of Anathema, whereof they are not worthy, *id. Instit. l. 4. c. 4. ss. 4.* *Beza de divers. grad. contr. Sarav. c. 21.* *Melancthon ad Camer. An. 1530. Confess. Aug. de Eccles. potest. Apol. Confess. Aug. ad art. 14.* *Princeps Anhalt. in concion. super Matth. 7.* *Bogerman. President of the Synod of Dort.* *Nay Blondel himself in Conclus. Apol.*

Apol. pro Hieronymo, which by the Importunity of the Agents of the general Assembly he was prevail'd with to leave out, with great Numbers more to be seen in Dr. Fern against Champney, Bancroft's Survey, chap. 8. Mason's Defence of the Ordination, &c. Dr. Durell of the Reformed Churches——and the posthumous Piece of Bishop Morton, publish'd by Sir Hen. Yelverton. Lastly, See Mr. de Langle, and Mr. Claude's Letters at the End of the most worthy and most learned Dean of Paul's Unreasonableness of Separation, which the late Agent at Charenton did in vain Endeavour to make them retract.

and other Reformed Writers have approved the Office, and protested that they would, if they could have retained them, and desired that their rejecting of them might be imputed to Necessity, and not to their Choice. They have generally declared, that they will submit to their own Bishops, if they will reform; and some of them for want of Episcopal Government, which they believe to be of Apostolical Institution, have thought their own Communion deficient, and in that Respect not so perfect as ours. They do not dislike, but approve of, and are for National Churches, and detest Sovereign Independent Communions, and their Ministers officiate in a distinct Habit, and are so far from disliking or undervaluing Liturgies, that they pray, baptize, and administer the Holy Communion, in Liturgical Forms. They silence and suspend Ministers in their Consistories and Synods: They would have had Church Musick, Organs I mean, if they might, and would condemn all those as guilty of Schism, who only under the

the infinite Pretence of purer Ordinances, and purer Worship, would set up private Congregations, and erect private Altars in Opposition to the Publick, and then teach the People, that the Magistrate hath nothing to doe in Ecclesiastical Matters ; but that they ought to repair to those Congregations, where they and they can profit most. No ! they dissent not upon such thin and absurd Pretences as these, but for the same Reasons, that their noble Ancestours the *Albigenses*, and our Ancestours since them, dissented from the Church of Rome. They do not only pretend Conscience, and say their Consciences tell them, that such and such Things are unlawful ; but they produce the Rules, and Precepts, and Doctrines of the Gospel, which those Doctrines, which they cannot profess, and those Things which they cannot practise, plainly contradict. The Reasons of their Non-conformity do not vary, as time serves, but they are the same that they were from the Beginning ; and they are not such as would overthrow all Communions, and destroy all the Churches that are, or can be in the World. In a Word, they dissent and disobey in the Defence of the Gospel, and of the plain and undoubted Gospel-truths. They are the most noble, essential, and integral Parts of Christianity, which they adhere to ; and it is not so much a Christian as a *Pagano-Christian*, a most corrupt, tyrannical, and idolatrous Church, to which they refuse

refuse to conform. As *Rome* is mystical *Babylon* the Great, the Mother of Harlots, and Abominations of the Earth : So the *Gallican-Church* is a Province belonging to the mystical *Babylon*, a Daughter of that Mother of Harlots, full of Fornication, and also drunk with the Blood of the Saints. Her Kings have all committed Fornication with her ; but these are come out of her, that they might not be Partakers of her Sins. This is their hard Case, they are reduced to a Necessity of sinning or suffering ; and therefore their Sufferings are truly, and properly Persecutions ; for they suffer for Righteousness Sake, and the Gospels Sake, and according to the Will of God. 'Tis for Conscience towards God, that they endure Grief ; for a good Conscience, as the Apostle speaks, which is opposed to an evil Conscience defiled with sinful Principles and Sins. A good Conscience in the Scriptures is otherwise called a pure Conscience [*1 Tim.* 3. 9. *2 Tim.* 1. 3.] and it is compared to a Body washed with Water [*Heb.* 10. 22. *1 Pet.* 3. 21.] because it is devoid of all sinful Prejudice and corrupt Affections, which pervert Men's Understandings, and render them indocile, and are able to make them call black white, and white black. The same is called in the Parable of the Sower, *an honest and good Heart*, because it receives the Truth with all readiness, and impartially searcheth the Scriptures, whether Things be so or no ; and in what Person soever

is sort of Conscience is, he would be glad to obey his Sovereign, and be of the establish-
Communion, because he knows these are
dispensable Duties, when they can be done
without denying Gospel-doctrines, or breaking
Gospel-laws.

Such ingenuous Souls will be ready to hear,
and ready to give an Answer to every Man
that shall ask them a Reason of their Doings,
with meekness and fear ; and when they suffer
for doing good, as our *French* Brethren, and
fellow-members now do ; they are made Par-
takers of *Christ's* Suffering in this World,
and shall be made Partakers with him in ever-
lasting Glory, among Martyrs and Confessors,
the World to come.

III. Having now shewn first what Persecu-
tion is, and secondly, That our *French* Bre-
thren are persecuted ; I proceed in the Third
place to shew, to what a Degree they are per-
secuted, and how deplorable their Sufferings
are, and how uneasie and dangerous it is for
them to continue in their Native Country,
where they are treated more like Slaves than
Subjects, and daily vexed with *Julian* Edicts
and Decrees.

For they are deprived of the ancient Liber-
ties, which were granted unto them by former
Kings, the Father and Grandfather of this
present King. Many of their * Universities

Sedan, the College of *Roche-Foucault*, and that of *Châtillon*.



are

are dissolved, and more than half their Temples razed, contrary to the Faith of Oaths and Edicts, and against the common Right of Prescription of Three and Fourscore Years. They are not allowed to erect Free schools for the Education of their own Children, nor Hospitals for the maintenance of their own Poor, nor can they have the Benefit of any already erected, without turning to the Popish Religion.

The *Lords of Mannors* among them, who formerly had right to keep Ministers, and set up the Reformed Worship in their own Houses, and call their Neighbours and Tenants unto it by the Sound of a Bell, are now in the most Arbitrary manner, deprived of that Privilege: And in the Cities where they are, most numerous *Colleges of Jesuits*, or *Houses of Mission* for propagating the Faith, are erected, into which undutiful Children or Servants, under Pretence of turning Catholicks, may retreat when they please; and in the greatest of those Cities, where perhaps ten School-masters could hardly teach all their Children, the late Law allow them but one, and their unjust Magistrates commonly none.

They are forbidden to set up the *Fleurs de Lucs* in their Churches, because they must not bear any Marks of Royal Favour; and as a further Token of Royal Displeasure and Contempt, their chief Seats, and more costly Pavements are ordered to be pulled down.

Former

Formerly Papists were allowed solemnly to renounce their Religion in the Protestant Temples; and scarce a Lords Day passed in the places where they were * numerous, but some Converts might be seen so to renounce; but now all Papists are forbidden to turn Protestants under pain of Death, or the Penalty of an infamous sort of Penance, call'd *L'amandement honorable*, in which the re-canting Person only wears his Shirt, with a Torch in his Hand, and a Rope about his Neck, and the Hangman stands behind him, begs Pardon of God and Man, for having renounced the Catholick (as they mis-call the *Romish*) Religion, and is afterwards punished with Banishment, if not with confiscation of Goods.

On the contrary, Protestants have all imaginable Encouragement to turn Papists; Penalties, Honours, Offices, and Preferments; to secure them after they have once declared the fore-mentioned Severity (as I have been informed) is the Punishment of a *Relapse*. The Magistrates of the Place have Authority to go with the Priest, and what other company they please, to visit sick Protestants, to turn their Friends and Attendants out of Room, and discourse with them about Religion; and if either hopes of reward, delirious Condition, or Impatience, or any other Cause make them speak any Thing in

Favour of the *Romish* Religion, then they presently take witness that they turned Papists. After which, if the sick Persons die, they are to be buried as Papists, and if they left Children behind them, they also are to be bred Papists; but if they recover, they are obnoxious to the Law against a Relapse.

Their Ministers cannot without great Danger and Difficulty visit Protestants, which is sick in Popish Houses; but every pitiful *Sacerdotalis*, every ignorant busie Priest hath Authority to go into Protestant Houses, and visit the Sick as often as they please; and when the Women are in travail, like the *Hebrew* Women in the Time of hardned *Pharaoh*, they must have Popish *Egyptian* Mid-wives, which is far greater Terrour to many of them, than the Pains of Child-birth it self.

Formerly they were capable of the Magistracy in Cities and Burghs, where they lived; but now they are incapacitated: Formerly they were to sit in their Courts of Justice, as in the *Chambers of the Edict*, (so called from the Edict of *Nantes*, by which they were erected in Favour of Protestants) and the *Party-Chambers* of the Provinces, where half the Judges are Protestants, and half Papists; but now they are deprived of that Privilege: So that for want of Judges of their own Religion they have little or no Benefit of the Law, where a Catholick is their Antagonist; but when both Parties are Protestants, if one change, or

...ise to change his Religion, he is usually sure
to gain the Cause.

And as they are banished from the Bench, so
are they banished from the Bar and Facul-
ties: For no Protestant can be Councellour,
Attorney, Notary, Chirurgeon, Apothecary,
Mid-wife, &c. In one Word, they are made
utterly incapable of all Employments, Civil
or Military; and by that Means are deprived
of all Honours, and better Conveniencies of
Life, of all the comfortable Means of Subsi-
stence and Well-being, which the Papists enjoy
in their Offices at Court, and in the Country;
in Peace, and in War, and in the Armies, both
by Sea and Land.

This is their miserable Condition, and what
yet worse, their Children have Liberty at
seven Years of Age to chuse their own Reli-
gion; and if to prevent the Mischief that may
follow upon this, they send them away, they
must forfeit a Years revenue of their Estates,
if they do not produce them within a Year;
but if they do not produce them within two,
then they must forfeit the Whole. But in case
they have no visible Estates, then they are sub-
ject to Arbitrary Valuations, and to Arbitrary
fines imposed thereupon.

If their Children upon this Liberty happen
to change their Religion, as many will doe ra-
ther than endure wholesome Discipline, their
parents are bound to maintain them, as they
do their other Children, or else to allow them

a Pension for their Maintenance ; and their Daughters so changing, may leave their Parents, and go into Nunneries when they please.

This is the Complement of all their other Miseries, and to avoid so great a Mischief, it is, that they fly in Flocks to Protestant Countries, that they may save the Souls of their own Bowels, and not have them bred up in Popish Darkness, and the Regions of the Shadow of Death. Some have slipped away by Night with their Families, and driven without intermission, 'till they had got out of their imperious Princes Dominions ; and others as is credibly reported, have shipped off their little ones, pack'd up in Bales of Merchantable Goods.

As for their Ministers, they upon any pretended Crimes are banished, fined, or imprisoned, on purpose to make them forsake their Flocks, and discourage the People from putting their Children to the Study of Divinity : Nay they are in an especial manner obnoxious to the barbarous Cruelties and Insults of the Souldiery, who have free Quarter upon the poor Protestants, whom they abuse to what Degree they please.

In some * Provinces they trail them, like Dogs, by the Neck to Mass, torture them till they renounce their Religion, and most inhumanly mis-use, or murder those, whom God

* As Poitou, Xaintonge, and about Rochelle.

enables to resist unto Blood ; and though these Tyrannical and Arbitrary Outrages be not done by open Order, yet it may be presumed they are done upon Connivance, and according to the secret Will of the Supreme Authority, since those that do them are neither punished nor restrained, notwithstanding the Complaints which the Sufferers daily make at Court. These barbarous Insolencies added to the Severity of the Royal Edicts, you may be sure adds Wings to their Haste, and makes them fly in great Hurry and Confusion into Foreign Countries ; and the Providence of God hath cast many of them, like ship-wracked Men, on our Coasts, and expects that we should *shew them no little kindness, but receive them courteously*, and do good unto them in an especial Manner, *as unto them that are of the Household of Faith*. They are persecuted, but we must not forsake them ; they are grievously cast down, but in such an exigence as this, we must not let them be de-
stroyed.

IV. And therefore I proceed in the last place to shew, that it is our Duty to help and assist them, to encourage and support them in this Time of Calamity, to refresh their Bowels, and minister unto their pressing Wants. For there are but three Ways by which the Spirits of persecuted Men can be supported ; by the *Testimony of a good Conscience* ; the *Comforts and Joys of the Holy Ghost*, and the *charitable*

Assistance of their Brethren, when (as the Apostle speaks) the Members have the same Care one of another; and if one Member suffer, all the Members suffer with it; and when from this diffusive Spirit of Charity which actuates all the Parts of the truly Catholick Church those that have Riches, and live at ease, will contribute to those that are poor and in Distress.

The Testimony of a good Conscience is a great Cordial, because it results from considering, that we suffer for Righteousness sake, and so are conformed unto *Christ* in his Sufferings, and thereby have a comfortable Title to all those mighty Promises, which he hath made unto them, that forsake Father, and Mother, and Wife, and Children, and Lands, and Country, nay, and lay down their Lives for his and the Gospels sake. This Consideration made the Apostle glory, and rejoice, and take Pleasure in his *Infirmities, in Reproaches, in Necessities, in Persecutions, and in Distresses for Christ's sake*. And I question not, but our suffering Brethren, the Confessors of the *Fren* Communion, are supported in their present Miseries, by these comfortable Reflections, and rejoice in Spirit, that they are counted worthy to suffer for his Holy Name.

The Comforts and Joys of the Holy Spirit consist in those gracious Irradiations, by which God is wont in an extraordinary manner to perfect the Souls of true Sufferers, in such Measures as their Condition requires. From the Principles

Principle, I conceive, it was, that *Paul* and *Silas*, after they had received many Stripes, sang at Midnight in the innermost Prison, with their Feet fast in the Stocks; and that so many Martyrs have smiled upon their Tormentors, and broiled in the Flames, with little, or without any Sense of Pain. In such Cases it seems reasonable to conclude, that their natural is strengthened with infused Courage; and that they are also rendred more or less Senseless, because they are rendred Ecstatick with the secret Assurance of God's Favour, which in 1 *Theff.* 1. 6. is called *Joy in the Holy Ghost*. I cannot say, that our suffering Brethren, generally speaking, are yet in such a Condition, as to stand in need of supernatural Assistance; but whenever it shall please God to call them, or us to such a Degree of Persecution, that we shall be killed all the Day long, and be counted as Sheep for the Slaughter, I question not but he will assist us in it, and in all these Things make us more than Conquerors, through *Jesus Christ* our Lord.

But besides the Comforts, which the suffering Members of *Christ* receive from their own Consciences, and the Spirit of God, they are to receive Support and Comfort from the Brotherhood, from their Fellow-Members in *Jesus Christ*. Thus, 2 *Cor.* chap. 8, 9. we find the Apostle exhorting the *Corinthians*, after the Example of the Churches in *Macedonia*, to a liberal Contribution for the poor distressed

Saints

Saints at *Jerusalem*. Thus also, *Acts* II. the Disciples of *Antioch*, as soon as they understood by the Prophet *Agabus*, that there would be a Dearth throughout all the World (which is the Scripture-Phrase for all *Judæa*) they determined to send Relief unto the Brethren of *Judæa*, by the Hands of *Barnabas* and *Paul*. For the Universal Church is but one Body, whereof *Christ* is the Head; one Family, whereof he is the Master; one Temple, or Spiritual-Building, whereof he is the chief Cornerstone; and this strict Relation we have to one another, as Members of the Universal Church, is such, that if one Member of it suffer, all the Members ought to suffer with it; and therefore a Soul void of Pity and Compassion, a Soul that cannot sympathize with his suffering Brethren, though, as to outward Appearance, he may be a Christian, yet he hath not the Spirit of *Christ*, that Spirit of Love, which informs all his Members, as the Soul doth all the Parts of the Body, and makes them sensible of one anothers Harms. By this (saith *Christ*) shall all Men know, that you are my Disciples, if ye love one another. And if we love one another (saith Saint *John*) God dwelleth in us; and this Commandment have we from him, that he that loveth God, love his Brother also. Therefore (my Brethren) God by his Providence hath now brought you to the Test, to try every one of you, whether you are true Members of *Christ*, or no? It is

Christ

Christ that hath sent these his poor Members to beg Relief of you, and in as much as you do, or not do it, to one of these little ones, remember, that you do it, or not do it to him.

But besides the Obligation you have from Christian Charity, Christian Equity also obligeth you to do it; *For whatsoever you would that Men should do unto you* in any Condition, that you are bound by the Gospel *to do unto them*; and therefore, as you would desire or expect to be dealt with in a Time of Persecution, so it is your Duty now to deal with them. The Times of performing some Gospel duties seldom occur, but when they happen and they always happen by God's special providence) we ought to look upon such Accidents as providential Calls to the vigorous and exemplary Performance of them; and no one knows, whether God hath brought this trial upon our Brethren, not only for the Trial of their Faith and Patience, but of our Love, Mercy and Compassion, and of our Willingness to minister unto the Saints? Therefore let us now acquit our selves like loving Brethren towards them, who are true Sons of that Society to which they belong, and from which they never yet departed, from the beginning of the Reformation, under the endless sentence of setting up purer Congregations, enjoying purer Ordinances, and purer Fellowship; but from the beginning have kept the Unity of Spirit in the Bond of Peace. Let

us

us not be backward to do Good, and distribute among them, for with such Sacrifices God is well pleased. Let your Abundance, as the Apostle speaks, be a Supply for their Want and who knows, but that God seeing our Readiness to relieve them in Persecution, may be so well pleased, as to deliver us from Persecution, and all the Judgments which we fear. If they have the Benefit of our Money, our Church shall have the Benefit of their Prayers: they will be obliged by our Charity to beseech God to make up our Breaches, and heal our Divisions; to unite us into the Primitive Apostolical Government and Communion; that our *Jerusalem* may be as a City that is compact together, and once more become, as she formerly hath been, the Glory of all Reformed Churches, and terrible as an Army with Banner to her Enemies of *Rome*. AP 53

Therefore, Let every one of you be merciful unto them after his Power; if thou hast much, give plenteously; if thou hast little, thy Diligence to give of that little; for if thou be first a willing Mind, it is accepted by God according to what a Man hath, and not according to what he hath not. Only I charge you who are rich in this World, that you be ready to give, and glad to distribute unto them, laying up in store for your selves a good Foundation against the Time to come, that you may attain Eternal Life: Which God of his infinite Mercy grant us all, thro' *Jesus Christ* our Lord. Amen.

F I N I S.

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A
S E R M O N

Preached before the

Lord Mayor,
ALDERMEN,

AND

CITIZENS of LONDON,

AT

St. Andrew's Church, on the 30th. of January, 168 $\frac{1}{2}$.

By GEORGE HICKES, D. D.

Chr. Goodman of Obedience, p. 52, 53.

Although the Popes for Sundry Enormities have deposed Kings by unlawful Authority, the Reason that moved them so to do, was *honest, and just, and meet to be received and executed by the Body of every Commonwealth.*

L. Keeper Puckering in a Speech to both Houses,

—And as the Case stands, it may be doubted whether they, or the Jesuits do offer more Danger, or be more specially to be Repressed; for albeit the Jesuits do Empoison — they join, and concur with the Jesuits. —

Ps. xlix. 6. *O my Soul come not thou into their Secret, nor unto their Assembly — — —*

Ps. iv. 20. *The Breath of our Nostrils, the Anointed of the Lord was taken in their Pits.*

The Fourth Edition.

L O N D O N,

Printed for JOHN CHURCHILL, at the Black Swan in Pater-Noster-Row, 1713.

Moore, Mayor.

*Martis xxxi die Januarii 1681, Anno
Regis Carol. Secund. Angl. Sc. 34.*

THis Court doth desire Dr. Hicke
to Print his Sermon Preach'd at
Bow-Church Yesterday (being the Day
of Humiliation for the Murther of his
late Majesty of ever Blessed Memory
before the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and
Citizens of this City.



WAGSTAFF

To the Right Honourable

JOHN MOORE,
LORD MAYOR

OF

The CITY of LONDON.

and to the Court of ALDERMEN.

My LORD,

AS in the Primitive Ages of Christianity much Harm and Dishonour happened unto the Christian Religion by † Atheists, Hereticks and False-Teachers, who were called Christians, and under that Denomination taught Ungodly, Blasphemous, Unrighteous, and absurd Things: of which in this unhappy Age, wherein we live, the Protestant, which ought to be but another Name for the Primitive Christian Religion, hath been much damnified, and distressed, by Atheistical, Heretical, and other Erring Teachers; who under the Name of Protestants, have taught the World, such, absurd and unchristian Doctrines,

ὅς γε λεγόμενος μὲν Χριστιανός, ὄντως ἢ ἄθεός, ἢ ἀσεβής
ἦν, ὅτι κατὰ πάντα βλάσφημα, καὶ ἄθεα, καὶ ἀνόητα δι-
δάσκει. (ἀποστολῇ) πολλοὶ ἄθεα, καὶ βλάσφημα, καὶ ἄδικα
ἀπὸ αὐτῶν ἐδιδάχθησαν. Dial. cum Tryph.
Apol. 2.

contrary

The DEDICATION.

contrary to the true Protestant Religion and so have disgraced the Protestant, as Justin Martyr complained, the others did the Christian Name.

Among these we have great Reason to reckon all those who have taught the People the Unchristian Doctrines of Disobedience, Treason and Rebellion, of whom I may say, as that Father said of the foresaid Christians, that although they be [λεγόμενοι χριστιανοί] called Protestants, yet they are not [ὁρθόδοξοι] *ὅτι κατὰ πάντα χριστιανοί* Orthodox and complete Protestants, indeed no more than the Sadducees, and other Jewish Sectaries, which he mentions by Way of Comparison, were truly Orthodox Jews.

In this following Discourse I have set forth the Precepts of the Gospel, and the Principles and Practice of the Primitive Christians, the best Expositor of those Precepts, against the Principles and Practices of these Men, observing the same Method that a Learned Divine did before me in the same Audience on the next Words before my Text, on 5th, of * November, and one would think

* 1680. Dedicated to Sir Patience Ward.

The DEDICATION.

what passed for true and seasonable Divinity then, should not be misliked and condemned now.

But yet, My Lord, so it happens: for some Men, I hear, who like the Preaching of this Doctrine one Way, do not like it another, when it is charged Home upon the culpable Parties; to which, it is to be feared, they have too strong an Inclination: otherwise I cannot well imagine why they should so publicly and plainly suggest, that pretended I could name a great many Authors, and some yet living, for the dangerous Principles which I recited, when I had none to name.

This Reflection, My Lord, made me send back for the Sheets from the Press, that I might for my own Justification cite the Authors by their Names, and if I have disordered any by doing so, they must not blame me, because it was not my first Intention, to do so, those, who constrained me to be so plain. I could have been far more numerous both in reciting their Principles, and in citing the Authors of them too; for since I made this course, which was a Year ago for my

P

Parish,

The DEDICATION.

Parish, * new Collections have been made out of their Writings, but I have added very little, contenting my self with what had before provided out of their Originals and out of Collections, which were the to be had; and as the Passages, and Authors which I have cited are not the Tenth of what have been Printed; so all that they have printed themselves, or others have printed out of them, is not the Tenth, nor perhaps the Hundredth Part of what these Men have taught and preached.

So much, My Lord, hath the Contagion of the Popish Principles of Rebellion overrun these Protestant Kingdoms; and what I have said in the following Discourse may prove as an Antidote to expell them out of the Soul of any one Man, that is infected with them, I shall not value the incurable and impenitent sort say of me, but rejoice when they shall revile me, and persecute me, and say all manner of Evil against me falsely upon that Account.

I hope I have said nothing, neither as to the matter nor manner of Expression which

* Dissenters Sayings, in Two Parts.

The DEDICATION.

the Subject and the Day will not excuse, but if any think that any Passage in it is too keen, let him not be offended, but first consider the Merits of the Crime, and then imagine with himself what any of the Fathers or Apostles, whom I have cited in the first part, particularly what the Author of the 13th. of the Romans, if he had Preached upon that Occasion, would have said thereupon.

It hath formerly been laid with much Acceptance to some Parties upon the Papists, who undoubtedly had a considerable share in the execrable Tragedy, and therefore I hope I shall not incur their Displeasure, by laying it upon Popish Principles, by which the Papists have debauched so many Protestants from their Allegiance; and if upon the dismal View of the whole I have used some warm and sharp Expressions, it was no more than was necessary upon that Occasion, to shew my just Resentments of such a Crying Abomination, and the deadly Blow which the Protestant Religion hath received thereby.

I know your Lordship is very sensible of all this, as every good Protestant ought to be; I know your Loyalty is part of your Religion,

The DEDICATION.

Religion, and that, as St. * Augustin speaks, you faithfully serve and obey your Temporal for the sake of your Eternal Lord. The Sense of your Duty, as a Christian, makes you a most obedient Subject, and faithful Magistrate under your Sovereign; and also a most grateful Citizen to such a mighty Benefactor to this Illustrious City, and as all truly conscientious Loyal Men now love and praise you for these and your other exemplary Vertues; so they will hereafter honour your Memory for them when you shall be translated from this, into the City of God.

I pray God assist you under the Burthen of your present Magistracy in these difficult Times, and bless you with long Life and Prosperity after you shall retire from it, and I am sure there are great Numbers in this City, who will heartily join in this Prayer with

Your Lordship's Most Faithful

and Obedient Servant,

GEORGE HICKES

A C T S xvii. 7.ⁱ

— *And these do all contrary to the Decrees of Cæsar, saying, That there is another King, one Jesus.*

The Context before is this :

These that have turned the World upside down, are come hither also, whom Jason hath received; and These—

AS it is natural to all Men to be of some Religion, so it is natural unto them to be Inquisitive after the best : So that neither the Authority of their Ancestors, nor the Legal Establishment, nor the Force of Education can overcome their Curiosity, or keep them from hearkning to new Prophets, or Teachers of new Religions, and new Gods.

Hence it hath come to pass, that the most dangerous Enemies of any Government have usually been Projectors in Religion, pretending a great Zeal for the right God, or the right Worship, and under that Pretence have accused the Established Religion of Falseness, or Faultiness, either that it was not the true Religion, or if it were, yet that it was not so Reformed, and Pure, as it ought to be.

These Seditious Pretences have obliged most Governments to secure themselves by Penal Laws against Innovations in Religion, having

found by long and frequent Experience, that Innovators in Sacred were commonly Innovators in Civil Matters, and that the plausible Pretence of reforming the Church, did usually end in the Ruin both of Church and State.

For this Reason, as † *Cicero* tells us, it was Enacted among the *Romans*, that no Man should presume to Worship any new or strange Gods, nor the Gods of the Country in private Meetings, or according to private Rites, or Ceremonies, but in the Temples, and after the Way of their Ancestors, which was established by Law.

These Ecclesiastical Laws of the ancient *Romans*, were part of the Twelve Tables, which they borrowed from the *Athenians*, among whom they were originally enacted; and by virtue of which *Socrates* was condemned, and *St. Paul* above Four Hundred Years after him, arraigned at the Supreme Tribunal of that City, for a Setter-forth of strange Gods.

In this State did Christianity find the World at its first Publication, armed with Penal, and Sanguinary Laws against Innovations in Religion; and the Emperor, and Imperial Powers more-especially jealous of *Jewish* Prophets and Teachers, because *Judas of Galilee*, *Theudas* and other false Messiaes had frequently drawn

* De Leg. L. 1. Separatim nemo habessit Deos, neve novos, sine advenas, nisi publice adscitos privatim colunto, cunctis patribus delubra habento.

that the Jews into Tumults, Seditions and Rebel-
 ions, which was the Reason that the Romans
 always kept a strong Guard in the Temple,
 and that the chief Captain asked St. Paul, if
 he were that *Egyptian*, meaning *Theudas*, who
 had formerly made an Uproar, and led out in-
 to the Wilderness Four Thousand Men that
 were Murtherers.

The Emperor, and his Presidents being thus
 made jealous of Innovators in Religion in any
 Province, but especially in *Judæa*, the unbe-
 lying Jews took this Advantage to traduce
 their Saviour, and after him his Disciples before
 them in every City and Country where they
 came. They * followed them for this purpose
 from Place to Place, and moreover made spe-
 cial use of the Doctrine of *Christs* Kingdom,
 to make the Roman Governors and Officers be-
 lieve, that their Doctrine was inconsistent with
 the Government, that they were Enemies to
 Caesar, and his Authority, and had a secret
 design upon the Empire, cloaked under the spe-
 cious Pretence of Religion; and when this
 could not succeed, they stirred up the Rabble
 in all the Cities, where they came, to make
 Tumults and Uproars against them, as † A-
 gainst the Deities of the Empire, or
 to draw forth of strange Gods.

Dial. cum Tryph. 335. c. 348. b. 350. 363. 371. Ed.
 1615.
Just. Mart. dial. cum Tryph. p. 234.

This I shall prove at large in the following Discourse, in which I shall proceed according to this familiar Method.

First, *I shall shew, that it was an old Charge against the Primitive Professors of the Christian Religion, that they were Enemies to Cæsar and did all Things contrary to his Decrees.*

Secondly, *I shall prove, that this Charge was most malicious and unjust.*

Thirdly, *I shall enquire whether any Modern Professors of the Christian Religion be guilty of this heavy Charge.*

And last of all, *I shall conclude with some Practical Reflections proper to the Times, and the Business of this Day.*

I. It hath been an old Charge upon the Professors of the Christian Religion, that they were Enemies to Cæsar, and did all Things contrary to his Laws : A Charge as old as the Founder of it, *Christ himself*, whom the whole Multitude of the Jews accused before Pilate saying, * *We have found this Fellow perverting the Nation, and forbidding to give Tribute unto Cæsar, and saying, That he himself is a King.* And when Pilate being convinced of his Innocence, sought to release him, they cried out the more earnestly, saying, † *If thou lettest this Man go, thou art not Cæsar's Friend; whosoever*

* Luke 23. 2.

† Joh. 19. 12.

maketh himself a King, as this Malefactor doth, speaketh against Cæsar.

And *Acts 24. 5.* We find the whole Sanhedrin of the Jews at *Cæsarea*, accusing *Paul* before the Tribunal of *Fælix* the Governor, that he was the Ring-leader of the *Nazarenes*, a peevish Fellow, and a Mover of Sedition among all the dispersed Jews throughout the Empire.

And so in my Text, *The unbelieving Jews of Thessalonica, moved with Envy, took certain lewd Fellows of the baser sort, and gathered a Company, and set all the City in an Uproar, against Paul and Silas, and assaulted the House of Jason, where they lay; but when they found them not, they drew Jason, and some other Brethren to the Ruler of the City, crying, These, that have turned the World upside down, are come hither also, and Jason hath received them, and they do all Things contrary to the Laws, and Edicts of Cæsar, and say there is another King, one Jesus.*

The like * Clamour, and Outcry, the Rabble of the unbelieving Jews and Gentiles made against *Polycarp* Bishop of *Smyrna*, at the Time of his Martyrdom, crying out against him to the Governour, *that he should cast him to the Lyons*, and when he answered them he could not, because the Spectacular Sports were concluded, then they cry'd out,

* *Epist. Eccles. Smyrn. de Martyrio Polycarp. apud Euseb. 4. 15.*

Burn him, burn him, just as the Jews cried out against Christ to Pilate, Crucify him, crucify him.

And *Just. Martyr* in his Dialogue with *Trypho*, † tells him how his Countrymen the *Jews* sent the best Men they had from *Jerusalem*, into all Parts of the World, to calumniate and mis-represent the Christians: From whence, I question not but it came to pass, that the *Roman* Governors suspected the Christians to have a Design upon the Empire, from the false Notion the *Jews* had given them of *Christ's* Kingdom; insomuch, that *Justin* † told the Emperor and Senate in his first, misnamed his second Apology, That if the Kingdom, which the Christians expected, were of this World, they would renounce their Religion rather than die, and certainly endeavour by Flight, or Absconding to save themselves, for what they expected to enjoy.

Afterwards to justify the Christians from all possible Slanders and Suspicions, of being Enemies to *Cæsar* and his Government, he proceeds to give them an Account of the Doctrines of their Master, *Jesus*, concerning || Patience under Sufferings, and Obedience and Submission unto *Cæsar*, and all that are put in Authority under him.

* P. 234.

† P. 58, 59.

|| P. 61, 62, 63, 64.

In like manner *Tertullian* to vindicate the Christians from the envious Imputation of being * Enemies to the Emperors, because they would not swear by their Geniuses, nor give them divine Adorations, shews from their Principles, and Practices, that this Aspersion was false of the Christians, but most true of the Heathens, who had rebelled against some, and furthered other *Cæsars*; and therefore in Imitation of such great Examples, I shall proceed to enlarge their several Apologies in this particular, under the second Division of this Discourse wherein I undertook to shew,

II. That this invidious Charge of the *Jews* against the primitive Christians, of being Enemies to *Cæsar*, and Disturbers of his Government was most malicious, and unjust. And this will easily appear if we consider the utter inconsistency of it with the Gospel-doctrines, which they so strictly practised; the Doctrine of Obedience and Submission; the Doctrine of Peace and Quietness; and the Doctrine of Patience and Suffering under lawful Powers, commonly called *Passive Obedience*: All which the Christian Religion taught, and the primi-

Hostes Principum Romanorum. Tertul. Ap.

*Unde Cassii, & Nigri, & Albinii? unde qui inter duas lauras
erant Cæsarem? unde qui faucibus ejus exprimendis palæstricam
erant? unde qui armati Palatium irrumpunt omnibus tot Sigeriis
parthenicis audaciores? de Romanis ni fallor, id est, de non
Christianis, Apol. Circa Majestatem Imperatoris. Infamamur, ta-
men nunquam Albiniani, vel Nigriani, vel Cassiani inveniri potue-
re Christiani. Ad Scapul.*

tive

tive Teachers and Professors of it practise to the Astonishment and * Conversion of the heathen World.

I shall begin with the Precepts of Obedience and Submission, which are such these :

† *Let every Soul be subject unto the higher Powers, for there is no Power, but of God; the Powers that be are ordained of God: Whosoever therefore resisteth the Powers, resisteth the Ordinance of God, and they that resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation. Therefore ye must needs be subject not only for wrath, but for conscience sake. Submit your selves to every Ordinance of Man (|| faith St. Peter) for the Lords Sake ; whether it be to the King, as supreme or unto Governours, as those that are sent of him, for so is the Will of God. And St. Paul in his Epistle to * Titus, hath made it the Duty of Ministers to remember the People of this and to put them in Mind to be subject to Princes, Palaties, and Powers, and to obey Magistrates,*

From whence I proceed to the Doctrine of Peace, and Quietness, which are such as the Study to be quiet, and to do your own Business, be humble, and gentle, and as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all Men : put a

* Just. Mart. Apol. 1. 50. Euseb. l. 4. 8.

† Rom. 13. 1, 2, 3.

|| 1 Ep. 2. 13.

* Ch. 3. 1.

Rise, and Clamour, and Evil-speaking, and
 follow after the Things which make for Peace.

The Doctrine of Meekness and Humility
 comprehended in such Precepts as these :
 Learn of me (saith our Saviour) for I am Meek,
 and lowly : The Fruits of the Spirit are Meek-
 ness, Peace and Gentleness. And saith the Apo-
 stle to the Colossians, put on as the Elect of God,
 lowliness of Mind, meekness, and long-suffer-
 ing.

It was impossible for Cæsar to suffer by a
 Religion, which obliged its Professors under
 the Pain of Damnation to be so obedient,
 peaceable and humble, as these Precepts oblige
 Christians to be ; and more impossible yet,
 when we consider the Doctrines of Patience and
 suffering ; which are as plainly, and copiously
 set down in the Gospel, as any other Do-
 ctrines, that are taught in the School of
 the Disciple.

This is Thank-worthy, (saith * St. Peter) if
 a Man for Conscience-sake towards God endure
 suffering wrongfully, for what Glory is it,
 when you are † buffeted for your Faults, you
 receive it patiently : but if when you do well, you
 suffer for it, this is
 as lie

1 Ep. 2. 19. &c.

Quod dicitur subjectionem Dominis deberi etiam duris ; idem
 Reges quoque referendum, nam quod sequitur ei fundamento
 constructum, non minus Subditarum, quam servorum officium re-
 ferunt. Grot. de jure l. 1. c. 4. 6.

Quod autem dixi de domino & servo hoc intelligite de potestatibus
 hujus mundi, & omnibus culminibus hujus seculi. Aug. in Psal. 124.

acceptable

acceptable to God. For even hereunto were called, because Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an Example, that we should follow his Steps: Who when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he suffered, threatned not; but yielded like a Lamb to the Slaughter, and, like a Sheep, that is dumb before his Shearers, he opened not his Mouth. Agreeably to which faith St. James to the Jews: You have condemned and killed the Just, and he did not resist you. He did not resist, though he could, for he had more Legions of Angels than they had of Men at his Command, but he did not resist. Therefore saith he, Brethren be patient, be passive, Obedient unto the Coming of the Non-resisting Lord, who left us an Example, that we should follow his Steps. And rejoice (saith St. Peter) in as much, as you are Partakers of Christ's Sufferings: For if you are reproached for the Name of Christ, happy are ye; and if any Man suffer as a Christian, let him glorifie God on that behalf. According to which (saith the Apostle to the Hebrews in a Time of Persecution) Let us look unto Jesus the Author, and Finisher of our Faith, let us consider him, who endured such Contradiction of Sinners, lest we be wearied and faint in our Minds, and consider also, that you have not yet resisted unto Blood.

The Gospel is a suffering Religion, and promiseth special Rewards to those, who will leave Houses, and Lands, and Wives, and Children, and lay down their Lives for Christ.

Sake. It teacheth us, that *Christ* the Captain of our Salvation, was consecrated or made perfect through Sufferings; that we are baptized into his Death, and that as many of us as shall be Partakers of his Sufferings, shall also be Partakers of his Glory; who when he had endured the Cross and despised the Shame thereof, was set down at the Right-hand of the Majesty on high. Therefore (saith *St. Paul*) *Endure all Things, that I may obtain the Salvation, which is in Jesus Christ; for if we suffer with him, we shall reign with him. Thou therefore, Son Timothy, endure hardness, as a good Soldier of Jesus Christ.* Accordingly it puts no great Value, nor looks upon any Christian to be a true, and * compleat Disciple of *Christ*, who cannot, when he is called thereunto, take up his Cross, drink up his Cup, and be baptized with his Baptism; neither doth it prescribe any Remedy but flight against the Persecutions of the lawful Magistrate, allowing of no other mean when we cannot escape betwixt denying, and dying for the Faith.

It would be endless to cite all the Passages in the Gospel; which shew it to be an obedient, peaceable, meek, and suffering Doctrine, and so far from being prejudicial to *Cesar's* Authority, that it makes him the *Minister of God* and not of the People, and commands

* 1 Cor. 26. 13. Eph. 6. 10, 11, 12, 13. 2 Tim. 2. 3, 4. *Epist. ad Rom. Cyprian, ad Thibarit. Ep. & de Lapsis. Naz. l. i. p. 88.*

its Professors to give him and all that are put in Authority under him, their Dues, and rather die than resist them by Force. *Render unto Cæsar, (saith Christ) the Things that are Cæsar's, and unto God, the Things that are God's.* And ye must needs be subject, saith St. Paul, *for this Cause pay ye Tribute, because they are God's Ministers.* Therefore render to all of them their Dues, *Tribute to whom Tribute, Custom to whom Custom, Fear to whom Fear, and Honour to whom Honour is due.*

Hitherto we have seen what Christianity taught, as to Active and Passive Obedience unto Cæsar; Let us now proceed to enquire what the Primitive Christians practised, and begin our Enquiry at the Practice of the Founder of it, *Jesus Christ.*

As for him, as he taught, so he lived, he verified his own Doctrine, and exemplified his own Precepts, both as to Active and Passive Obedience; for, as *Justin Martyr* told the Emperor, he paid Tribute unto Cæsar, as we do as other Jews of the Province: and rather than resist the lawful Authority, which sent to apprehend him, he let himself be led as a Lamb to the Slaughter, saying unto *Peter*, who drew his Sword: *Put up thy Sword into his Place, for all they that take the Sword, shall perish by the Sword; and thinkest thou if I would resist that I cannot pray to my Father, and he would presently give me more than twelve Legions of Angels.* And when he was arraigned of his

Treat

Treason before *Pilate* for calling himself a King, he made his Defence in these Words, *My Kingdom is not of this World, for if my Kingdom were of this World, then would my Ser-
vants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews, [but I own my self to be Cæsar's Subject] and my Kingdom is not from hence.*

Thus he set the Example, and the Apostles the next Promulgers of the Gospel, followed his Steps: For the first time they were beaten by the *Sanhedrin* for Preaching *Jesus*, and the Resurrection, they † rejoiced that they were counted worthy to suffer for his holy Name. Saint *Paul* in particular Speaking of his Stripes above Measure; of his frequent Imprisonments, and of his being so often near Death, *Glory* (saith he) *in these Things, which concern mine Infirmities* (as he calls his Sufferings, and Persecutions) and exhorts the whole Church of *Corinth* to endure Sufferings after the Example of the Apostles, who, as he tells them, *were pressed above measure, and above strength; and who despaired of Life, having the Sentence of Death continually in themselves.*

Yet in all this they sinned not, nor ever so much, as thought of resisting the Powers, but still suffered according to the Will of God, committing their Souls unto him, as unto a faithful Creator. And therefore when *Tertullus* in

* *Job*. 18. 36.
† *Acts*. 5. 41.

the Name of the Sanhedrin, accused Paul for a Mover of Sedition before *Fælix*, he denyed the Charge, saying, *They neither found me in the Temple disputing with any Man, nor raising up the People ; neither in the Synagogues, nor in the City ; neither can they prove these Things where of they now accuse me.*

Nay, so eminent was the Patience and passive Obedience of the primitive Christians that St. Paul applies this Text unto them out of the *Psalmist* : *For thy Sake are we killed all the Day long, we are counted as Sheep for the Slaughter. They followed the Lamb that was slain, they overcame the Dragon by the Blood of the Lamb. They washed their Garments in Wine, and their Cloaths in the mystical Blood of Grapes. And if any Man (said St. John) have an Ear to hear, let him hear. He that killeth with the Sword, shall be killed with the Sword. Here is the Faith and Patience of the Saints.*

And as the Apostles followed the Lamb : their Disciples and Successors followed them. For St. Ignatius the Disciple of St. John, gloried in the Bonds in which he was carried from Antioch to Rome, and rejoyced to think, as he speaks in his * Epistle to the Romans, *That I was not of the Tares, but of the Wheat, which was to be ground by the Teeth of the wild Beasts to make the pure Bread of God.* That which

* Cit. ab I. aeneo l. 5. c. 28. & ad Euseb. l. 3. c. 30.

little is * full of Divine, and Heroical Strains
Christian Patience and Courage; and in his
little to the Church of *Smyrna*, speaking of
Sufferings, he saith, ἐγὼς μαχαίρας ἐγὼς θεῷ,
ἐν θανάτῳ μεταξὺ θεῷ; *He that is near the Sword*
near God, and he that is in the Theatre among
wild Beasts, is as it were in the Midst of
He suffered at a Time, when Christians
were in Multitudes, and when they were
in Condition to resist; For *Pliny* in his Epi-
stle to the Emperor about the Christians, told
† 'That the Contagion of the Christian
Religion had so infected the Towns, Cities
and Villages of *Bithynia*, that the Temples
were become desolate, and the Solemnities
of the Gods almost quite left off: And *Tibe-*
rius his President of *Palestine*, in a Letter to
his Majesty upon the same Occasion, told him,
he was || 'weary with killing the Christi-
ans, who discovered themselves unsought for,
and multiplied the more, the more they were

such as, ἀφ' ἐλπίδος με θανάτῳ ἐν βρώμα— πῦρ, καὶ σαρκοφάγος,
καὶ αὐτῶν, διατρέσεις, σκορπισμοὶ ὁσίων, συγκροταὶ μελῶν,
καὶ ὅλα τῷ Σώματι, καὶ χολασις τῷ διαβίῳ ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἐρ-
μῶνον ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ ἐπιτύχω— λιταὶ δ' αὖτε
ἐμὲ ὑπὲρ ἐμῶν, ἵνα διὰ τῶν ὁργάνων τῶν θεῶν θυσία
καλὴν ἐμοὶ ἀποδανῇ διὰ Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, ἢ βασιλεύειν τῶν
τῆς γῆς.

20. Ep. 97. Visa est enim mihi res digna consultatione
propter periclitantium numerum, multi enim omnis ætatis,
et ætatis, utriusque sexus etiam vocantur in periculum & voca-
neque enim civitates tantum, sed vicos etiam atque agros
hæc istius contagio pervagata est— Certe satis constat
desolata templa, & sacra solemnia d'ū intermissa—
ἐγκαταλελειμμένα καὶ φονδύων τὰς Γαλιλαίας—

put to Death. * So early were the Christians in a probable Capacity of defending themselves ; but yet rather than do so by resisting the lawful Powers, *they were led like Lambs to the Slaughter, and like Sheep that were dumb before their Shearers, they opened not their Mouths.*

About fifty Years after this, when the Christians were grown far more numerous, *Justin Martyr* told the Emperour *Antoninus*, ‘ They were the most innocent and obedient of all his Subjects taking care above all Things according to the Precepts, and Example of their Master, † to pay him all his Customs and Tribute ; and that next after God, they loved and obeyed his Majesty ; acknowledging Emperors and Rulers to be ordained of God ; and praying always, that together with his imperial Power, he might enjoy a sound and sober Mind.

And *Polycarp* Bishop of *Smyrna*, and Disciple of *St. John*, who suffered about the same Time, bespoke the President, who had commanded him to swear by the Emperors Gods in the Name of the Christians thus : || ‘ We are taught to yield Obedience to all Principal

* *Ecclesia manus suas ad orientem occidentemque porrexit jam nullus esset terrarum angulus tam remotus, quo non religio penetrasset*—*Lactan. de Mort. persecut. de temporibus Nervæ*

† 2 *Apol. p. 64.*

|| *Δεδότα γὰρ ὡς καὶ ἀρχαίς, καὶ ἐξουσίαις ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ τεταγμέναις οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῶν κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον τὴν μὴ βλάπτεσθαι αὐτὰν μὲν, Eccles. Smyrn. de Mart. Polyc.*

and Powers ordained under God, except in
 doing Things which are destructive of Our
 Souls : Therefore do as thou pleasest, cast
 me to the wild Beasts, or into the Fire,
 which is not to be compared to that eternal
 Fire, which thou knowest not to be reserved
 for the Ungodly at the last Judgment. And
 in this Epistle to the *Philippians*, he charges
 them to pray for Kings, Magistrates, and
 Princes, and all the persecuting Enemies of
 the Cross.

A little after this, *Athenagoras* wrote his
 Apology for the Christians to the Emperor
Marcus Antoninus, and *Commodus* his Son,
 which in the Name of the Christians, con-
 cludes thus : * ‘ We daily pray for your Em-
 pire, and that the Son, as it is just, should
 succeed in his Father’s Throne, and that
 he would increase your Dominions more,
 and more.

This was the Disposition of the Christians
 when the Emperors, grown secure of
 their Loyalty, let them serve in their Armies
 times of Persecution ; insomuch that twenty
 years after this, *Tertullian* told them, ‘ That
 though the Christians were but of † Yester-
 day, yet all Places were full of them : the

Οἱ πάντες πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἀρχαίους τοὺς ὑπερέτους ἐνδοξοῦντα ἱνα
 &c.
 In Apol. Hesterni sumus, & vestra omnia implevimus, &c.
 hominum multitudo pars pene Major Civitatis cujusque—
 scapulam.

' Cities, Towns, Islands, Castles, and C
 ' porations, the Senate, the Palace,
 ' Courts of Judicature, their Tribes, th
 ' Companies ; nay, the Army it self, and t
 ' they had left them nothing but their Te
 ' ples, and appeals unto them if they w
 ' not numerons enough to make greater
 ' mies, than any were in the World.
 ' then when their Numbers made them for
 dable they lived in perfect Obedience,
 Subjection under the persecuting Powers,
 daily || prayed for the Emperor, the Prospe
 of his Empire, and the Success of his
 mies.

And *Cyprian* about fifty Years after h
 writes to the same purpose to *Demetrian*
 ' † That they were become a very numer
 ' People, and the greater part of the Emp
 ' and yet not a Man of them did resist, w
 ' he was apprehended, nor revenge the I
 ' ries, which they endured.

They had Power, and Force, and Opp
 nity enough to do so, for by this Time g
 Numbers not only of the common Sould

* *Oramus etiam pro Imperatoribus, pro ministris eorum, et
 testatibus——Nos enim pro salute Imperatorum Deum invocamus
 Aeternum——est & alia major necessitas nobis orandi pro
 ratoribus, etiam pro omni statu Imperii rebusque Romanis——
 In Apol. & ad Scapulam. Christianus nullius est hostis
 Imperatoris——*

† *Nemo nostrum quando apprehenditur reluctatur, nec se ad
 injustam violentiam vestram, quamvis nimis & copiosus
 sit populus, ulciscitur.*

out of the Officers, and Commanders, were become Christians, and some Companies and troops consisted almost of nothing else. For about Thirty Years after in the Time of *Dio-
cletian*, the * *Thæbean* Legion consisting of all valiant Christians, is a most compleat and admirable Example of Patience, or Passive Obedience, a Doctrine which now begins afresh to be so exploded in the World.

They lay with the rest of the Army at *Octodurum* in *Savoy*, when *Maximian* commanded them to sacrifice to the Gods. The Command being given, they withdrew a little off to a village called *Agaunum*, whither the Emperor sent after them to come and Sacrifice with the rest. They excused themselves with all submission; but the cruel Emperor upon their refusal, commanded a Decimation, which was immediately executed without the least show of Opposition or Resistance; *Mauritius* their Commander, from whom *Agaunum* hath long been call'd *St. Maurice*, speaking to them thus:

I was very much afraid (fellow-Soldiers) lest of you, as it is natural for armed Men especially to do, should have resisted under the Pretext of Self-defence: And I was prepared to forbid you to do so in the Name, and by the Example of Christ, who commanded Peter, when he drew his

Vide Eucher. Episcop. Lugd. ap. Sur. Sept. 22. Et Grot. de L. 1. C. 4. 6, 11, 12, 13. Dr. Stillingfleet's Origin. Britan. Id. orationem militum qui thus obtulerant. Naz. 1. in vet. p. 88.

Sword, to put it up again ; and so he went on exhorting them to follow the Example of Christ.

The first Decimation being ended, the Emperor commanded a second, when some of them bespoke him thus : ‘ We are thy Soldiers, *Cæsar*, and have taken up Arms to defend the Empire, and have never yet been punished as Deserters, Traitors, or Cowards, and we would now obey thee in this matter, but that our Religion forbids us to worship *Dæmons*, or approach their polluted Altars, do what thou pleasest, for we are thy Subjects as to our Bodies, but our Souls now look up unto the Founder of our Religion, *Christ*.

After that, *Exuperius* the Standard-bearer spoke thus : You see Fellow-Soldiers, I bear the Eagle, the Sign of secular War, but it is not to these Arms that I desire to provoke you, nor in War of this Nature, that I would have you show your Valour, but another way of Combating, by which, and not by your Swords, you shall win the Kingdom of Heaven.

He left also this Message to be sent to the Emperor, ‘ That Desperation which made other Men valiant in Dangers, could tempt them to use their Arms against Majesty, who refused to resist with their Swords in their Hands, because their Religion taught them to die in Innocence, rather than survive in Sin.

The Emperor enraged with their invincible
 perseverance after the second Decimation, com-
 manded the whole Army to fall in upon them,
 so presently cut them off.

This happened between the Ninth and Tenth
 persecution of the Christians, when, as * *La-*
ntius writes of them, *Cum tam nefanda per-*
imur ne verbo quidem reluctamur, sed Deo re-
stitimus ultionem, When we suffer such unexpressi-
Torments we do not so much as use any stubborn
language, but call upon God to avenge our Blood.

This Story, though it were supposed to be
 Religious Fiction, or Romance, as the Ad-
 vocates of Non-Resistance, contrary to the
 Testimonies of Liturgies, near a Thousand
 years old, would have it thought to be ; then
 on this Supposition it must be owned, that
 it was framed and fitted according to the recei-
 ved Doctrine, and Practice of Christians, and
 the very Fiction of it proves the Christian
 Doctrine of Non-Resistance, as much as if
 it were true.

Such was the Faith, and such the Patience of
 Primitive Christians from the Time of
 Christ's Ascension, till the Time of *Constantine*
 the Great. Then the Church was blessed with

Lib. 5. *Stultosque arbitrantur esse qui cum habeant in sua po-*
te supplexia vitare, cruciari tamen & emori malunt, cum pos-
se eo ipso videre non esse stultitiam, in quam tanta hominum
per orbem totum una & pari mente consentiant,
vero ab ortu solis usque ad occasum lex divina suscepta sit &
sexus, omnis etas & gens & Regio unitis ac paribus animis
serviant eadem sit ubique patientia, idem contemptus mortis, &c.

Peace

Peace and Quietness, till the short Reign of
 * *Julian* the Apostate, who began to persecute
 again, when the Empire, and Army, now in
 a manner wholly Christian, adhered to their
 former Principles, and withstood him no other-
 wise; as † *Nazianzen* tells us, than with
 Prayers and Tears.

Hitherto, and much longer the Christian
 World was utterly ignorant of Seditious and
 Rebellious Doctrines both under the *Pagan* and
 || *Arrian* Emperors, particularly that of * *Valens*
 who order'd Eighty Suppliant Bishops, and
 Presbyters to be put in a Ship, and burnt in
 in the Sea.

To resist Authority, Pagan or Christian, un-
 der the specious Pretence of defending them-
 selves, and Civil or Religious Rights; to enter
 into Leagues, Covenants and Associations
 against the Emperor and the Empire; to fight
 him from Field to Field, and from Country
 Country; to hale him from one Prison to an-
 other; then to arraign him of high Treason

† *Julianus extitit infidelis Imperator, nonne extitit apostatus iniquus. idololatra? Milites Christiani servierunt Imperatori infideli, ubi veniebat ad causam Christi non agnoscebant nisi illum qui in caelo erat, quando veniebat ut idola colerent, ut Thauriscerent, praeponerent illis Deum, quando autem dicebat producite arma, ite contra illam gentem, statim obtemperabant, distinguendo dominum aeternum à domino temporali, & tamen subditi erant propter dominum aeternum etiam domino temporali, August. in Ps. 118.*

* *Orat. 1. in Jul. τὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐχόντων κατὰ τὸ διδόντος φάσμα*
 || *Socrat. Hist. Lib. 4. cap. 16. Sozem. Hist. Lib. 6. cap. 16.*

* *Vid. Athanasii Apol. ad Const. & Hosium & Liberium*
 Athan.

again

against his own Subjects, and so cut off his Head, were Things not more inconsistent with the Notion of Monarchical Government, and the expresse Doctrines of the Gospel, than with the Passive and Obedient Temper of the Christians in those happy and glorious Times.

Hitherto, and much longer, it had not so much as entered into their Hearts * to oppose, or endeavour to subdue, expel, or destroy any Pagan Apostate, or Arrian Emperor; they knew not as yet what it was to promise and protest in the Presence of God, to defend the Christian Religion by force against Idolatry, Heresie, and Superstition; and therefore

III. I proceed in the third Place to enquire, whether any Modern Professors of the Christian Religion be guilty of this heavy Charge of which the Ancestors of our Holy Profession, the primitive Christians, were so innocent and free.

For in the last Days (saith St. Paul) perilous times shall come; for Men shall be much for self-preservation, or lovers of their own selves; covetous; proud; boasters; blasphemers; disobedient to Parents; unthankful; unholy; without natural affection; promise, or truce-breakers; false accusers; incontinent; fierce; haters; or despisers of those that are good; Tray-

See the Association in the Proceedings, &c.

tors ; beady ; high-minded ; lovers of Pleasure more than lovers of God, having a form, or outward appearance of Godliness, but denying the Power thereof.

Here we see this odious Charge, which was so unjustly laid upon the Primitive, is Prophetically drawn up by the Apostle against these last times, in which we, and our Ancestors have lived.

And it hath been abundantly verified, and fulfilled, not only by * the Papists, but by those, who have imbibed the Popish Principles of Rebellion, the Bloody Reformers of the Episcopal Reformation in these Kingdoms ; whom, without any other Apology, but what the Day will make for me, I shall prove, First from their Principles, and Secondly from their Practices, to have been a pestilent sort of People, and Movers of Sedition, Enemies from their first Original unto Cæsar, Haters of his Royal Prerogative, and Actors against his Interest and Decrees.

As for their Principles, take them, as I find them laid down in the Writings of such Men as Apostatized from the Church of *England*, in such Assertions and Doctrines, as these :

* See the History of Popish Treasons and Conspiracies, by H. Foulis.

1. That * the People are better than the King, and of greater Authority, and the Original of all just Power.

2. That † they have a right to bestow the Crown at their Pleasure.

3. That the making of Laws doth belong to the People, and that Kings are but as Masters of the Rolls.

4. That the People have the same Power over the King, that the King hath over any one Man.

5. That || they may Arraign their Prince.

6. That if Princes be Tyrants against God, and his Truth, their Subjects are free from their Oath of Allegiance.

7. That they may for just Causes be Deposed.

8. That it is not Birth-Right, nor Propinquity of Blood, that maketh a King lawfully to Reign over a People professing Jesus Christ.

† *Buchanan de jure Regni. Knox Hist. and Appel. and Goodman, as may be seen at large in Bancroft's Dangerous Positions, Book 1. p. 3. and Lysimachus. Nicanor's Letter of Thanks, Second Edition, 1679. Life of Charles I. p. 80.*

† *All to the 15th. to be seen in Bancr. dang. Pos. b. 1. ch. 3. 2. ch. 1. and many of them in Sir W. Dugdale's short View of the late Troubles, p. 17, 18, 19. out of Buch. Goodman, Knox, Atrow. See also Herod and Pilate, p. 47.*

|| *In Eusebius Philadelphus from Edinburgh, dial. 2. p. 57. Indiciæ contra tyrannos, p. 206. Fenner's Sacra Theol. commendat. by Cartwright, l. 5. c. 13. p. 185.*

9. That * it were good, that Rewards were appointed by the People for such as should kill Tyrants, as commonly there is for those that kill Wolves, or Bears, or take away their Whelps.

10. That † the King may be Excommunicated by *their* pretended Ministry, who have no Succession, nor Mission, and by Consequence no Power of Excommunication.

11. And that he who by Excommunication is cast into Hell, is not worthy to enjoy any Life upon Earth.

12. That || when Kings will not reform Religion, the Nobles and inferiour Magistrates may, and if they refuse, that the People are bound to do it, though it be by * Deposing, or the † Death of their King.

13. That || the Nobility, inferiour Magistrates, and the People are bound to resist Idolatry by Force.

* *Tenures of Kings and Magistrates*, 1640. Rob. Rollock in *Dan. c. 5. p. 150.* all cited in *Herod and Pilate*, p. 51, 52, 53. See Knox compared with Eman Sa. Suarez. and Philopatrius. As to 6, and 7, in *Lyfimach. Nicanor. 35, 36, 37.* Knox in *Foulis hist. wicked Plots, b. 1. ch. 7.* As to the 9th. See *Buchanan compared with Suarez, Lyfim. Nic. 39.*

† *Cartwright's last Reply, p. 65.* *The Humble Petition to the Queen, p. 55.* *Defence of the Discipline against Mr. Bridges, p. 127.* Cited in the *Epist. Ded. to Herod and Pilate.* Cartwright, Travers and Buch. compared with Bellarm. Azor. and Suarez, as to Excommunication of Princes, *Lyfim. Nican. 30.*

31.

|| *Wittingham in his Preface to Goodman's Book.*

* *Willock and Knox in Spotf. hist. l. 3. p. 136.*

† *Bancroft's dang. pos. b. 2. ch. 1. p. 34. Lex Rex. p. 173.*

|| *Canterbury's Doom, p. 290, &c.*

14. That

14. That * if the Magistrates refuse, the people may, and ought to put Mafs-Priests, and Mafs-Preachers to Death, and that in doing so, they shew the same Zeal, which God commended in *Phineas*.

15. That † the Example of *Phineas* stands us instead of a Command, because what God hath commanded, or approved in one age, must needs oblige in all.

16. That || it is not sufficient for Subjects to obey the wicked Commandments of their Princes, but they must *resist* them also, and deliver the Children of God out of the hands of their Enemies, as we would deliver Sheep, that is in danger to be devoured by a wolf.

17. That * Kings, Princes and Governors owe their Authority from the People, who may take it away from them, as Men may revoke their Proxies and Letters of Attorney.

18. That † Noblemen (*though created by their Princes*) were ordained to bridle Princes, and that they have their Honour of the People to revenge the Injuries of their Kings.

19. That || there is a mutual Obligation betwixt the Prince, and his Subjects, and that if

Staunton to the Commons, April 24. 1644. p. 28.

Knox Hist. cited in the *Narrative of Archbishop of St. Andrews Murder*, p. 67. *ib.* 17, 18, 19.

Bancr. dang. pos. b. 2. ch. 1. View of the late Troubles, p. 17,

Jus Populi, p. 1. 1644.

Rutherford's Lex Rex. p. 177.

See *Lyfim. Nican*, p. 11, 12, 13.

he

he perform not his Duty, they are discharged from theirs.

20. That * to disobey Princes, which subverts their Scepters to Christ's Scepter, and acts Subordination to him, is indeed Rebellion; but to resist and rise up against Princes, who do not do so, is not to disobey them, but to obey God, who in this case becomes their superiour and Liege Lord.

21. That † Judges (*who have their Commission from Kings*) ought by the Law of God to summon Princes before them for their Crimes, and proceed against them as against other Offenders, and that * the Sanhedrim ought to have put *David* to Death.

22. That || wicked Kings and Tyrants ought to be put to Death, and when Magistrates cease to do their Duty, as to this Particular the Sword falls into the Hands of the People; and that if neither the Magistrate nor the People will do their Office, then their Ministers or any one Minister may Excommunicate a King, after which the rest of the People who are willing to do their Duty, may choose any *Moses*, or *Othniel* to be their Captain, he ought not to refuse them. Nay, in such

* *Covenanters Instruction for Defensive Arms*, Naphthali, *Lex Rex*. p. 267.

† *Bancr. Dang. Pos.* 36. * *Lex Rex*. p. 173. 175.

|| *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, 1649. *Buch. Regni. Goodman in Dang. Pos.* b. 1. ch. 1.

safe, a private Man having an inward Motion from God, may kill a Tyrant; as *Moses* did the Egyptian; *Phinehas*, *Zimri* and *Cozbi*; and *King Eglon*.

23. That * Monarchy is an unlawful Government, and † that there is naturally in all things an hatred to Christ.

24. That || there were no Kings before *Cain's* days, that the Church of God was well governed before there was any Christian King, and that God gave the *Jews* their first King in his wrath.

25. That † the Church in Ecclesiastical Assemblies hath Power to make Laws without a King.

26. That the King hath no Power to call, or

Mr. Robert Blair, at the College of Glasgow.

Calderwood's altare Damascenum. Not unlike unto which is of D. Owen's in his Fast Sermon, April 19. 1649. p. 22. Kings of the Earth have given up their Power to Antichrist, how have they earned their Titles, Eldest Son of the Church, The Catholick and most Christian King, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH. Do not the Kings of all these Nations set up in the Room of their Progenitors, with the same Impeachable Enmity to the Power of the Gospel?

*Covenanters Information for defensive Arms, arg. 5. and so Bellarm. de Laicis, ch. 7. as they are parallell'd in Lysim. p. 17. * Dr. Henry Wilkinson of Ch. Ch. in a Sermon Oxford a little before his Majesty's Restauration. See Spotsw. 423. 424.*

At large in Presbytery displayed. See Bramhall's fair war- to England. Spotsw. Hist. 1. 6. Sion's plea. Rutherford's Pre- to Lex Rex. Covenanters Answer to the Marq. of Ham- uration, Lysim. Nic. p. 18. Who compares them in this to apists, p. 32. King's larger Declaration, Fol. 407. Thom. Wright, p. 645.

R

dissolve

dissolve those Ecclesiastical Assemblies, nor to ordain a Fast, or Festival, nor to silence or deprive any Minister, because every Minister in his Ministerial Capacity is subject unto none but Christ.

27. That * an Assembly may abrogate Acts of Parliament, and discharge the Subjects of the Kingdom from their Obedience to them, they any way reflect on the Business of the Church.

28. That † in all Matters determined in an Assembly, the King is to receive them, as Son of the Church, and have no further interest in them, though they be not Matters of Faith, but Matters of Government, and those concluded by them against Acts of Parliament established by the King, and three Estates say Nay, though they concern secular Business as Making of Salt, and Fishing for Salmon on Sundays, and changing of Markets from one Day in the Week to another, &c. which add, that if Subjects be called before the King, and Council, for any Misdemeanour, if they who are called do any way conceive, that the Matter for which they are called, doth concern *the Glory of God, or the Good of the Church*, then they may appeal from the King, and Council, to the next general Assembly, or Parliament, and in the mean time

* King Charles's larger Declaration p. 411.

† Ibid. p. 409. *ibid.* p. 410. *ibid.* p. 412. See also p. 114.

before these Appeals be heard, or discussed, disobey them. So they assert, that if the King, or his Commissioner, *sitting in Assembly*, shall deny their Voice to any Thing, which to them seems unjust, or repugnant to their Laws, yet if that shall be concluded by most Voices of the Assembly, that then the King is bound *re Divino* to see all these Conclusions made in Despight of him, obeyed by all his Subjects, and by his Authority to enforce Obedience to these Acts. And if his Councillors, or Judges, shall refuse to do the like, then they shall be liable to the Sentence of Excommunication, and so be deprived of their Places, and Estates.

29. That * the Oath of Supremacy is destructive of Christ's Prerogative, that it un-
girds him, and makes a mortal sinful Man
preme in his House ; that it is Blasphemy, a
perjured Oath, contrary to the second Psalm,
the Doxology of the Lord's Prayer, and
that whosoever takes it doth declare he hath
no King but *Cæsar*.

30. That † it is lawful for the People to
enter into Leagues, Covenants and Associa-
tions, without their Prince ; and that a King
ought not to be a King, but by a Covenant with his
people.

See Spirit of Popery, p. 9.

Lex Rex which calls Mariana the Jesuit an approved Author,

Duglass's Coronation Sermon. See King's large Declara-

p. 409.

31. That * the Solemn League and Covenant was Christ's Marriage-contract ; that to act against it is to do despite to the Holy Ghost ; that it obliges the People of these Kingdoms, as much as the *Mosaick* Covenant obliged the *Jews* ; that all Acts of Parliament against it are damnable ; that to break it is to revolt from God, that it obliges Children in the Loins of their Parents, who ought to baptize their Children into it ; that † the late great Plague, and Fire of *London* were Judgments of God for burning of it by the Hand of the Common-hangman, and that his Majesty having revolted from it hath no right to rule.

32 That || those who engaged in it were unjustly charged with Rebellion.

33. That the * Parliament without the King was the Supreme Power of this Nation, and † that as *Josiah* put those to Death, who followed *Baal* : so might they those who will not return to the Lord, and leave their Antichristianism, which was sworn in the Covenant be rooted out.

* Mr. Case's *Book of the Covenant in Evangelium armatum* p. 42. Zac. Crofton's *Answer to Dr. Gauden* 3 edit. p. 22. *Spirit of Popery*, 7. 26. 42. Mr. Caryl. in *Evang. arm.* p.

† *Poor Man's Cup*.

|| Mr. Calamy in his *Sermon before the Lords*, Dec. 25. 1651.

* Mr. Calamy *ib.* Mr. Jenkins in his *humble Petition*, printed Octob. 15. 1651. *Political Catechism*, p. 7. 1679. See Mr. Baxter in *Evang. arm.* p. 16, 17, 18, 19. and Mr. Herle, p. 28. of Charles I. p. 80.

† Mr. Marshall, *Evang. arm.* p. 7.

34. That* when Providence depriveth a King of his Understanding, or suffers him to turn wicked, or disables him from executing the Law, and protecting his Subjects, it renders him incapable, *and so deposeth him.*

35. That † it was lawful to take up defensive Arms, after the Example of *David*, who had sworn Allegiance unto *Saul*.

36. That || those who fought in the late Rebellion, fought the Lord's Battels, and that the War was the Cause of God.

37. That † all People, the *English* in particular, have a Right to choose their own Government.

38. That || the Loyal Subjects, who adhered to his Majesty were *Babylonians*, *Midianites*, and *Idolaters*.

* Mr. Baxter in his *H. C. W.* where there are many more such *critical Theses*. See also the 2d. Part of the *Unreasonableness of Separation*, which shews him to have been a Man of Rebellion and Blood.

† Stephen Marshall, *Evang. arm.* p. 21.

|| Mr. Marshal.

Mr. Calamy. *Evang. arm.* 22, 23, 24. Mr. Love to the Commons, Nov. 25. 1646. *id.* Dedic. to Lord Fairfax: and at Uxbridge, Jan. 30. 1644. p. 7. Tisdal to the Commons, p. 14. See his Sermon, 1644. Case to the Commons, 1644. p. 13.

† Buch. *de jure*. Mr. Case in *Evang. arm.* p. 25. Covenanters form. for defensive Arms. So Bellarmin. *de Concil.* l. 2. c. 19. de *ir. l.* 3. c. 6. *Life of Ch.* 1. p. 80.

|| Mr. Case, *Evang. arm.* 25. 35. Mr. Strickland, *Evang.* 19.

39. That * Idolaters, and Idolatrous Priests ought to be punished with Death.

40. That † the Church of *England* was Idolatrous, full of Idols, Babylonish Garments and Popish Trumpery, and || that the Removal of them countervailed for all the Blood and Treasure, which was shed, and spilt in these Kingdoms, *not excepting the Blood of the Day.*

41. That * it was as blameless to kill the King's Person in a Battel, as for a Constable

* Cases Sermon, to the Court-marshal, Aug. 17. 1643. Marshal's Sermon, March 26. 1645. Herle to the Lord Mayor, 1645. p. 22. Marshal to the Commons, Decemb. 22. 1645. p. 52. and to the Commons, Feb. 23. 1641. p. 9. Love at Uxbridge Jan. 30. 1644. p. 7. Spotswood hist. l. 3. Coleman in Fourth hist. of wicked Plots, p. 183, 184.

† Mr. Sedgewick and Mr. Strickland, *Evang. arm.* p. 29. Mr. Farcloth, *ib.* 32. Mr. Bridges, *ib.* 33. Dr. Homes, *ib.* 34. || Mr. Jenks before the Parl. Sept. 24. 1656. p. 23. *Because he makes so light of the Blood and Treasure which was shed and spilt in the late Rebellion; I desire the Reader, probably to compute, how many thousand Men lost their Lives on both Sides in it: and as for the Treasure, Mr. Heath before his Chronicle observes, it exceeds all Arithmetick and Belief. For besides the Customs, Kings Revenues, Sequestration of Ecclesiastical Profits, Sales of the Lands of the King, Queen and Prince, Bishops, Deans and Chapters; Decimations; 1000000 l. per Annum. it amounted in five Years Time, as he computes, to near 20000000 l. Much such another unchristian Saying was that of Mr. Marshal's to both Houses, Jan. 18. 1643. 1644. confidently affirm, that our Days are now better than they were seven Years ago; because it is better to see the Lord (mark the Phrase) execute Judgment, than to see Men working Wickedness, and to behold a People lye wallowing in their Blood, than Approaching from God, and embracing Idolatry, and Superstition, banishing the Lord Jesus from among them. See also p. 22.*

* Scripture and Reason published by divers anti-episcopal divines, and ordered to be printed by the Committee of the House of Commons April 14. 1643. *Evang. arm.* p. 36.

Watch-man to knock him down if he committed Violence in a disguise.

42. That * he had a solemn and fair Tryal, becoming the Majesty of the People of *England*, and was justly put to Death.

† Lastly, that the Usurping Powers after him, were lawful Powers ordained of God.

These, with many other such papal, and damnable Positions, may be found in these Words, or others of the same Importance, in the Writings and Accounts of the most celebrated Authors, and Ringleaders of the Parties, which fell off from the Church and her principles, in both Kingdoms; and I forbear to name them, both to avoid the Loss of Time, which such a long Catalogue would take up,

* *Act passed the 30th. of Jan. 1648. and the 17th. of March 1648. in Scobel's Collections, Life of Charles I. p. 80. Milton in his Preface to his Iconoclastes, the Pourtaicture of the Kings of England, 1650. p. 15. Armies Remonstrance, Nov. 16. 1648. Owen a Fast Sermon, Jan. 31. 1648. p. 5. 15. A Thanksgiving Sermon for the Defeat at Worcester, Oct. 24. 1651. p. 2. Jo. Goodwin's Defence of the Sentence passed on the King. Herle's Preface before his Sermon on 2 Sam. 22. 16, 17. preached to the Commons, Nov. 5. 1644. Do Justice to the great Saul's Sons are not spared, no nor may Agag, or Benhadad, though themselves Kings. Zimri and Cozbi though Princes of the People must be pursued into their Tents: This is the Way to conquer your selves to God. † Mr. Baxter, *Evangel. arm.* 17, 18, 40, 41. Slater's Protection Protected, 1658. Mr. Jenkins in his Petition, 1651. God's Providence, i. e. his Permission of Events, and Success, are antecedent Declarations of God's Will and Appointment. A Refusal to be subject to this Authority [the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England] is a Refusal to acquiesce in the wise and righteous Pleasure of God, such an Opposing of the Government set up by the Sovereign Lord of Heaven and Earth, as none can have Peace neither in Acting nor Suffering for.*

and the Envy which would fall upon me for naming of some of all Professions, who yet live, or whose memory is yet fresh among us.

And as the Authors of this new Divinity have taught: so they and their Disciples have acted in Contradiction to the Gospel, and the Primitive Professors of it, and in Opposition to *Cæsar* and his Laws. It would make a large History to relate all their slanderous undutiful Speeches, Petitions, and Remonstrances; and their Seditious Declarations, and Meetings, all their Riots, Tumults, Insurrections and Rebellions; and all their Treasons, Murders and Assassinations, in these two Kingdoms, from the time of Queen *Elizabeth*, and King *James* his Mother unto this present Day.

As for the King's Mother, they compared her to * *Jesabel*, and *Athaliah*, and † preached that it was lawful to put her to death. || They killed great Numbers of the Popish Clergy, and pulled down Monasteries, and Cathedral-Churches by Virtue of God's Laws against Idolatry, without staying for Reformation by Law. To be short, as King *James* complained at *Hampton-Court*, they renounced her Authority, put her up in several Prisons, fought her from Field to Field, beat her out of her own

* Herod and Pilate, p. 48.

† Camden's Eliz. p. 95. 3d Edit. in English.

Spotf. Hist. p. 123, 124. & Foulis Hist. c. 1. ch. 8.

Kingdom, took all into their own Hands, and forced her for his Sake, who was in their Custody, to resign her Title to the Crown.

As for him he declares, in his Preface, *to all Christian Monarchs, Princes, and States*: that they Persecuted him not from *his Birth only*, but from *Four Months before he was born*. With what Inhumanity, and Irreverence did they treat him in his Minority, forcing Oaths upon him against his Conscience, and keeping his Person under Restraint! * After he got his Liberty, their Preachers called him *Jeroboam*, denounced the Judgments of God against him, said he was possessed with a Devil; and affirmed that his Subjects might lawfully rise, and take the Sword out of his Hand. Accordingly they did so in *Edinburgh*, crying out at the time of the Infurrection, *the Sword of the Lord and of Gideon*. And to the last Moment he lived among them, he had as great Contests against their † Ecclesiastical Sovereignty, as ever any King had against the Pope.

As for what they taught, and practised in Queen *Elizabeth's* Days, may be seen in the Schismatical || Books of that Time; as also

* Spotsw. Hist. l. 6. Foulis Hist. of pretended Saints, l. 1. p. 8.

† See the Story of Blake in Spotsw. and Foulis, ib. l. 6. Presbytery displayed.

|| Such as Martin Mar-Prelate, H'y'any work, Diotrephes, Demonstration of Discipline, and many more made and dispersed by Udal, Barrow, Greenwood, Studly, Bowler, Coppinger, Hacker, Penry, and others. As may be seen in Bancr. dang. positions.

from the Accounts we have in History, of the * bloody Principles, and Practices of *Copinger, Hacket*, and their Associates; who were all the Disciples, or Companions of *Cartwright*, and *Trevers*, and condemned for High Treason, though most of them upon the Intercession of the Archbishop were graciously reprieved by the Queen.

As † soon as her next Successor, King *James*, came to the Crown of *England*, they began to make loud and grievous Complaints against the Church of *England*, in behalf of the Discipline, which to satisfy their Clamours made him give them a Conference at *Hampton-Court*: Where his Majesty having considered the Vanity of their Objections, put out a Proclamation for Uniformity; which making them despair of any Hopes from him, they || entered into a stricter Correspondence with their Brethren in *Scotland*, and in *England* privately magnified the Power of Parliaments against the Crown, and by those Arts so enflamed the People, that the Nation presently began to ring with Clamours of Grievances, Danger of Arbitrary

* *Dang. Pos. b. 4. and Heylin's Hist. of Presbytery.*

† *Act. recogn. i Jacobi c. 1.*

|| *In the first Part of this King, one of the Members bid the House take heed lest if they gave too much to the King, they should endanger their own Throats cutting as they went home. Another said, It would never be well with England till a Sicilian Vesper was made of the Scottish Nation, as if he had not known what Country-Men the King, and Princes were.*

Power, Freedom of Speech, Birth-right of the People, and such like Things, as *English* Ears had rarely or never heard mentioned in such a mutinous Manner before. Nay, they used all imaginable Arts to render the King and Clergy odious to the People, and so Faction and Sedition, encreased more and more among them, till his Son, our late Blessed Sovereign, who was Murdered this Day, succeeded to the Crown.

I shall not, because I need not relate how this Excellent Prince was abused, and tormented by them both in, and out of Parliaments. I shall not repeat their undutiful Speeches, and scandalous Reflections on His Sacred Person, nor trouble my self and you with reciting those Lyes and Defamations by which they represented him to his People * for a *Papist*, a *Tyrant*, and a *Fool*.

I shall not, I cannot with Patience rehearse the several Acts, and Scenes of this direful Tragedy, from the beginning of the Rebellion to the Vote of *Non-Addresses*, which Murdered the King; and from thence to the *High Court of Justice*, which Arraigned and Condemned the Man, nor am I scarce able to mention the execrable Feast, which the Monsters of King-killing Principles make in Triumph upon this unhappy Day.

* See the None such Charles, *Milton's Defensio, &c.*

It pains and torments me to remember the Speeches that were made, the Votes that passed, the Sermons that were preached, and the Books that were Printed to delude his poor Subjects; whom in his greatest Miseries he pitied more, than he did his own self. I cannot think upon our *Naseby's*, and all other *British* Fields of Blood without Horror and Indignation; especially when I consider all the Mock-Treaties they made with him, and that they, as he called God to Witness in his Speech upon the Scaffold, first began the War.

Much less am I able to insist upon the Nature, Manner, or Style of his Arraignment; or tell you the barbarous and inhumane manner in which they abused His Sacred and Innocent Person; when *the very Abjects of the People gathered themselves together against him, making Mows at him, and ceased not.* I leave you to recollect all this, and reflect on the Horror of this execrable Tragedy; especially upon this last Act, of which I shall only say, as the *Israelites* said upon another Occasion: *There was no such Deed done, nor seen from the Day that the Children of Israel came up out of the Land of Egypt until this Day. Consider of it, take Advice, and freely speak your Minds.*

Having now shewed, First, That it was an old Charge against the Primitive Christians that they were Enemies to *Cæsar*, and did all Things contrary to his Decrees;

Secondly

Secondly, That this Charge was most malicious and unjust;

And having in the third Place found upon inquiry, if any modern Christians were guilty of that Charge that the *Anti-Episcopal* People of these Kingdoms have been highly guilty of, according as the Apostle foretold: I now proceed to make some short practical Reflections proper to the Times, and the Business of this Day.

First then, Let us seriously reflect on the great Difference betwixt the Principles and Practices of Christ and the Primitive Christians, and the Principles and Practices of our New Reformers, and then consider what Spirit they have been of. Not of the Spirit of Christ, who resisted not his Murderers, and hath commanded us to lay down our Lives without Resistance for his sake, and the Gospels; who blamed *Peter* for drawing his sword; and who not only lived but died an Obedient Subject to *Cæsar*, passively submitting himself unto his Governors, when as I have observed, he had more Legions of Angels at his Disposal, than *Cæsar* had Legions of Men at his Command.

Nor of the Spirit of the Apostles, who taught the same Doctrine of Patience and Passive-Obedience to Legal Authority, following the Example of their Master, and commanding all Christians to be subject to Lawful Magistrates, not only for Wrath, but for Conscience-sake.

Nor

Nor of the Spirit of the Primitive Christians, who inviolably taught and practised the same Doctrine under Ten famous Persecutions under Pagan Princes, and afterwards under one Apostate and two *Arian* Emperors, within the first Three Hundred Years. They were mocked, scourged, imprisoned, stoned, sawn asunder, empaled, crucified, burnt, and slain with the Sword; or if they took the * allowed Benefit of Flight, they wander'd about in Sheep-Skins, and Goats-Skins, in Desarts, and Mountains, and Dens and Caves of the Earth, and all this not only when they wanted Power, but when they were become the greater Part of the Empire, and a great Part of the Imperial Army, and when the Powers that were, did not submit their Scepters to Christ's Scepter, but endeavoured to root his Religion, or its true Faith, and the Professors of it out of the World.

Of what Spirit then have they been? Even of a Popish Jesuitical Sort of Spirit, and of Popish Jesuitical Principles; for all the Positions, which I have laid down out of their Writings, may be found in the Writings of the Jesuits, and to the great Scandal of the Protestant Name, they have perverted the Gospel Doctrines of Patience or Passive-Obedience by

* *Matth.* 10. 23.

† See them paralleled with the Jesuits in Herod and Pilate p. 54. in *Lysim. Nican.* in *Sir Will. Dugdale's short View*, 1617. in *Ld. Keeper Puckering's Speech to the Parliament*, 1595. 27th. of *Queen Eliz.* ib. 13. *Dr. Nalson's Introduction*, p. 5.

ans, hem, as much as the Jesuits have done. They
Do- have taught and learned all their damnable
Pa- Doctrines of Disobedience and Resistance, not
late- only against Princes in general, but against
three- their own Sovereign; and as to this part of
urg- operty, I say, as to this part of *Hildebrand*
mpa- operty, they that hold these Principles,
ord- are as rank Papists against the Govern-
of- ment, though many of them are ignorant of
and- as any of the disloyal Papists who were
and- in this Rebellion or the Powder-Plot.

not- Nay, the most pestilent and dangerous
they- piece that ever was written against this Govern-
pire- ment, *Doleman's*, or *Parson's Title to the Crown*,
and- they have dressed up in several Disguises, not
omit- only in * the Time of the late Rebellion, but
dea- nce the † late Liberty of the Press.

faith- And from the Men of these Principles it is,
Even- at we had within these Three last Years so
d of- many Impious and Treasonable Books printed,
positi- * declaim against the Doctrine of *Passive-*
Writ- *obedience*; † to prove this not to be an Heredi-

* In a Collection of Speeches said to be delivered at a Conference
concerning the Power of Parliaments to proceed against their King
Misgovernment; with several other Declarations and Speeches,
particularly, Bradshaw's long Speech at the Condemnation of the
King.

† A Treatise of the broken Succession of the Crown of England,
1551. to make way for the Usurper.

A brief History of the Succession.

The Appeal from the City to the Country, which also saith,
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tary, but rather an Elective Monarchy, contrary to the Acts of Recognition, and the famous Process and Judgment in Parl. XXXIXth Henry VI. and that the King is the * Trustee of the People, † that he is one of the Three Estates; || That his Office in the Interval of Parliaments, is wholly Ministerial to put the Laws in Execution; that his Prerogative in all the Branches of it, is rather the Ruin than the Support of the Government; that Acts of Parliament were at first brought unto his Majesty as the Speaker, and Lord Mayor are now presented to him, meerly out of Respect and Honour; * and that Parliaments should sit 'till all Grievances are redressed, and Petitions answered, that is, as long as they please.

And in all these Books special Care is taken to blacken and expose the *Universities* and the *Clergy*, and make them odious and contemptible to the People, because they cannot persuade us to go beyond the Word of the Lord but that we still Teach, and Preach up the Doctrine of † Passive Obedience to the *Laws* *Powers* for Evangelical, and maintain, acco

* Implied in the Style of most of the Seditious Pamphlets.

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But Secondly, If these Principles be so con-
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For the Protestant Religion of the Church of
England is but another Name for Primitive Chri-

Sciant quis illis dederit imperium, sciant qua homines,
& animam. Sentiant eum esse Deum solum à quo sunt
mundi, post quem primi—ideo magnus est [Imperator]
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is creatura; inde est Imperator unde & homo antequam
Imperator, inde potestas illi unde & spiritus. In Apolog.
Imus ergo imperatorem—ut hominem à Deo secundum,
quicquid est à Deo consecutum & solo Deo minorem—
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Scapulam. *Psal.* 82. 6. *Exod.* 22. 28. *Braet. saith of the*
Omnis sub eo est, & ipse sub nullo, nisi tantum sub
Deo. See the Statute of Præmunire, 16 Rich. 2. cap. 5. *Irenæ-*
l. 5. c. 24. Determinavit hujus seculi regna deus, regis enim
in manu dei, & per Salomonem ait verbum, per me reges reg-
nant—Paulus Apost. hoc ipsum ait: omnibus potestatibus—&
dei minister est—hoc autem & dominus confirmavit non
quod à diabolo suadebatur, tributorum autem exactoribus
pro se—quoniam ministri dei sunt—terrenum regnum
est à Deo—cujus enim jussu homines nascuntur, hujus jussu
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αἰώνων, ὁ πατὴρ τῶ κυεῖς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ διὰ τῶ
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S

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S

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stianity, and a Protestant for a Primitive Christian, who protests against all the Corruption of the Gospel by Popery; and Popery having apparently corrupted the Gospel in the Doctrines of Obedience and Submission, and the Divine Authority of the Supreme Power, especially of Kings; they cannot be Sound and Orthodox Protestants, who hold the very far destructive Principles to Regal Government by which the Papists have corrupted the Gospel in those Points.

No they are not Sound and Orthodox, nor Church of *England* Protestants, but Protestants popishly affected, an *Hildebrand* sort of Papists under a Protestant dress, Wolves in Sheeps Cloathing; Rebellious and Satanic Spirits transformed into Angels of Light. They were such Protestants, or Protestant Jesuits these, that formerly set up Jesus against *Cæsar*, Christ against his own Gospel, the Apostles against their own Doctrine and Practice, and by corrupting and perverting the Gospel of Peace, brought the People of the Nation to turn their * Plough-Shares in

* 'Tis the Sword, not Disputes nor Treaties, that must end Controversy, wherefore turn your Plow-Shares into Swords, your Pruning-Hooks into Spears, to fight the Lord's Battles. *Lect. at Uxbridge, Jan. 30. 1644. p. 7. Contrary to the Spirit of Primitive Christians, who, as Justin saith of them in his* turned their Swords and Spears into Plough-Shares. You lay out your Blood in such a Quarrel [the late Rebellion.] shed all his Blood to save you from Hell, venture all yours to him up upon his Throne. *Marshall's Paneg. 1643. See more such, Dissent, Sayings, 1 and 2 Part, 12 Self.*

Swor

Swords, and rise up against the best of Princes, in the most causeless and unnatural Rebellion that ever was in the World.

They were such Protestants as these, that have made so many *Protestant* Plots, raised so many *Protestant* Tumults and Rebellions, committed so many *Protestant* Murders and Assassinations in these Kingdoms; and perhaps shed more true *Protestant* Blood in them, than was shed in the first Ten Famous Persecutions; and in one Word, such Protestants and zealous Protestants they were, who shed the direful Blood of this Day.

You may know them by their Works; and by their Words, and Phrases too. For their Throat is as an open Sepulchre, with their Tongues they use Deceit, the Poison of Asps is under their Lips. Their Mouth is full of cursing, or fraudulent Imprecations and Bit-terness, Destruction and Misery are in their Ways, and the Ways of Peace they have not known.

As there was never so much need to warn the People against the Papists; so there was ever greater need to warn them against these popish sort of Protestants, who have brought an indelible Scandal, upon the true Protestant Religion, by this great Abomination, and thereby made this Protestant Land an Hissing, and the Protestants of it to be a Reproach, and a Proverb, and a Taunt, and a Curse in all Places, and yet we see they are so far from

undoing what they formerly did, and abhorring themselves for their former Practices ; that if you compare the former, and these latter Things, which have happened together, you will find them speaking to the People in the very same Prologue, and already entered upon the same Prelude that preceeded the Beginning of that Execrable Tragedy, with which they concluded this Day Search in the Books of the Records of your Fathers, and you shall find and know, that the Men of these unchristian Principles have been a Rebellious People hurtful to Kings and Princes, and that they have of old Time moved Sedition within this City and Kingdom, and turned the World upside down.

And since the same Principles will upon the same Occasion, eternally act the same Things, it behoves us as we are Christians, and Subjects to beware of them, and as we tender our private and publick Welfare, to be very vigilant over them, lest by their Hands we be brought again to Confusion, Anarchy, and Blood.

But in the last Place, if these Principles and the Practices of the *Pharisees* that held them, have been so contrary to the Principles and Practices of Christ, and the Primitive Christians, we may see how much it is our Duty to mourn, and lament for such apparent and grievous Violations of the Gospel by Gospel Professors, but especially for the last Scene

of that horrid Tragedy of Rebellion which they acted this Day. That such a Wickedness should be committed in our *Israel*, in a Protestant Country, upon a Protestant King, and by Protestant Subjects pretending to so much Light, ought to make us ashamed, and blush to lift up our Eyes to Heaven, and weep, were it possible Tears of Blood.

Was it thus, that we rendered unto *Cæsar* the Things that were *Cæsars*? Was it thus that we owned him to be God's Minister, and our Duty to obey him, not only for Wrath, but Conscience-sake? Was this the Way to be subject to Principalities and Powers, and did we thus submit our selves for the Lord's Sake, to the King as Supreme, and unto those that were sent by him? Was it thus, that we rendered unto Blood? Did we thus learn of Christ? And was it thus that we contended for the Purity of the Gospel; We, I say, because so many of all Ranks and Conditions were engaged in that unchristian Rebellion, which brought on this detestable Act, as to make them *both* national Crimes. All that any way slandered the King, and his Government; all that endeavoured to make him odious or contemptible to his People; all that Preached, or Printed, or spoke Sedition; all that raised Uproars and tumults; all that furnished Plate or Money, set forth Men, Horse, or Arms against him: Nay all that had evil will unto him, how much soever they pretended to the Spirit,

were more or less in God's Eyes guilty of the Rebellion, which was begun by the Representatives of the People, and all along carried on in their Name.

Great Reason therefore have we, and the Children that shall come after us, the Men of *Judah*, and the Inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, all *Israel* that are near, and that are far off, to be humbled before God for this Abomination, and for our own Sins, and the Sins of our Fathers which hath caused him to pour forth the Curse and bring so great an Evil upon us, as on this Day.

It was for our Iniquities, that We, our King, and our Priests were delivered to the Sword, to Captivity, and to a Spoil, and to Confusion of Face on this Day.

May it please God to hear the Prayers and accept the Humiliation of his faithful People and divert his heavy Judgments which seem to hang over us for such an execrable Fact. May it please him by the precious Blood of Christ, which speaketh better Things, than that of *Abel*, to purge the whole Nation from the Guilt of all the righteous Blood which was shed in it, from that Noble Blood of which our Sovereign did repent, to his own, which was shed upon this Day. Oh that it may neither lie upon us, nor upon our Children! oh that the Voice of it may not cry unto God for Vengeance from the Ground! and oh that his Soul like the Souls of the Martyrs under the Altar

be not yet crying out, how long O Lord holy
and true, dost thou not judge and avenge my
Blood.

Grant this, O blessed Jesu ! for the infinite
Merits of thy own Blood, which was shed for
those that shed it, and which is a full, perfect,
and sufficient Atonement for the Sins of the
whole World. *Amen.*

FINIS.

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*The Moral Shechinah : Or, A Discourse
of GOD's GLORY.*

I N A
S E R M O N

Preach'd at the last

Yorkshire F E A S T

I N
BOW-CHURCH, LONDON,
June 11. 1682.

B Y
G E O R G E H I C K E S, D. D.
Chaplain in Ordinary to His Majesty.

The Second Edition.

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To my Honoured
FRIENDS and COUNTRYMEN
THE
STEWARDS
Of the last
Yorkshire-FEAST:

Mr.

William Thomson,	{	Anthony Warde,
Thomas Hutton,		Michael Thompson,
Richard Fountaine,		Christopher Conyers,
John Hargrave,	{	James Holdsworth,
William Wenslay,		James Gibson,
William Wilkinson,		Nicholas Craige.

GENTLEMEN,

Altho' the Glory of God, which is
the Subject of this Discourse, be
the supream End of all Human Actions,
it is very certain from many of the great-
Pretenders to Religion, that they have
secure, perverse, and incongruous Notions
it. And if what I have said upon it
this short Compass may any way contri-
bute to rectifie such Mens Apprehensions, I
shall be thankful to God for it, and think
my

The Epistle Dedicatory.

my Pains very well spent. I had presented you sooner with it, but that I was hindered by sundry Avocations; and perhaps had I published it, when you first desired me, it might not have done so much Good amongst us, as now it may do in cooler Times, when Men are in a better Temper and more fit to mind both the Concerns of this World, and that which is to come. I wish you all Happiness, and shall be ready to serve every one of you in particular, as I have all of you in general, in first Preaching, and now Publishing this Discourse, which comes with all due Respects from

Gentlemen,

Your most Obedient Servant,

GEORGE HICKES

1 COR. X. 32.

Whether therefore ye eat, or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the Glory of God.

THE good or bad Success of Mens Undertakings depending very much upon the knowledge of the End for which they are to be, it must needs concern all Christians to get Right, and clear Notions of the *Glory of God*; which Christianity asserts to be the, supreme End of all Humane Actions, and which, though men generally pretend to understand, yet it is very certain from many Mens inconsistent Practices, that they are grievously mistaken in the notion of it; or if they be not, that they act against their Understandings and Consciences, acting so contrary to, while they pretend to act for the Glory of God.

Wherefore, in discoursing upon these Words, which propose the Glory of God unto us, as the Supreme End of all Humane Actions; I shall first endeavour to explain the true Notion of it.

2. I shall make a general Division of Humane Actions into their several Sorts, and shew under each sort how they are to be directed unto it, as unto their chief End; and

Lastly,

Lastly, I shall shew what we must do, and how we must behave our selves in our present Solemnity, that we fall not short of the Apostles Rule, who tells us, *That whether we eat or drink, or whatsoever we do, we must do it to the Glory of God.*

First, I shall endeavour to explain the true Notion of *God's Glory*. In order whereunto I must desire you to take Notice, that the first Notion of God's Glory in the Scripture is a Physical Notion for the visible Appearance of God, or the visible Manifestation of himself by Fire, Light, Clouds, Brightness, and other Meteorous Symbols of his Presence; and that the other Notions of *God's Glory*, or *Glorifying God*, which occur in the Scriptures, do as I shall hereafter shew generally allude, and referr unto this, which, I say, consisted in the visible Appearance or Manifestation of God by Fire, Light, Clouds, and such like glorious Signs of his Presence, of which there are several Examples in the Old Testament: as of his appearing to *Moses* in a Flame of Fire in the Bush, and to all the People upon *Mount Sinai* which, (saith the Text) *was altogether on Smoak, because the Lord descended upon it by Fire, and the Sight of the Glory of the Lord was like devouring Fire on the Top of the Mount.*

So *Exod. xl. 38.* *The Cloud of the Lord was upon the Tabernacle by Day, and the Fire was on it by Night, in the Sight of all the Hebrews.*

of Israel. So Numb. ix. 15. *On the Day that the Tabernacle was reared up, the Cloud covered it, namely the Tent of the Testimony, and at Even there was upon the Tabernacle the Appearance of Fire until the Morning.* So Exod. xxxvi. 16. *The Cloud covered Mount Sinai six Days, and the seventh Day God called unto Moses out of the Cloud.*

Thus also the Cloud was wont to appear at the Door of the Tabernacle, as Deut. xxxi. 15. *The Lord (saith the Text) appeared in the Tabernacle, in the Pillar of a Cloud, and the Cloud stood over the Door of the Tabernacle.*

And in the Holy of Holies, as in Lev. xvi. 1. *The Lord said unto Moses, speak unto Aaron thy Brother, that he come not at all times into the holy Place, within the Veil before the Mercy-Seat, which is upon the Ark, that he die not, for I will appear in the Cloud upon the Mercy-Seat.*

So 1 King. viii. *When the Priest had brought the Ark of the Covenant into the Oracle of the new built Temple, under the Wings of the Cherubims, the Cloud so filled the House of the Lord, that the Priests could not stand to minister because of the Cloud.* And in Ezek. i. you may read of other splendid Appearances, whereby God manifested his Presence; as by Appearances like the Colour of Amber, Chrysolite, Sapphire, and the Colours of the Rainbow, together with Appearance of Fire with brightness round it. In these splendid, and glorious

glorious Appearances God was wont to manifest his special Presence among the Jews, and the Manifestation thereof was emphatically called *The Glory of the Lord*, as in *Exod. xxix. 43*. Saith God to Moses, *At the door of the Tabernacle will I meet you to speak there unto thee, and there will I meet the Children of Israel, and the Tabernacle shall be Sanctified by my Glory.*

So in *Exod. xxxiii.* after God had told Moses again, and again, That his Presence should go with him, *Then*, saith he, *I beseech thee shew me thy Glory.* i. e. I beseech thee shew me some Glorious Token of thy Presence and the Lord said, *Behold there is a Place by me, and thou shalt stand upon the Rock, and while my Glory passeth by, I will put thee in the Cliff of the Rock, and I will cover thee with my Hand while I pass by.*

So *Exod. xvii. 10.* While Aaron spoke unto the whole Congregation, they looked towards the Wilderness, and behold, the Glory of the Lord appeared in the Cloud. And *Ch. xxiv. 16.* The Glory of the Lord abode upon the Mount, and the Cloud covered it six Days. So *Ch. xl. 34.* the Cloud covered the Tent of the Congregation, and the Glory of the Lord filled the Tabernacle. So *Levit. ix. 23.* Moses and Aaron went into the Tabernacle, and came out and blessed the People, and the Glory of the Lord appeared unto all the People. So *1 Kings viii. 12.* The Priests (saith the Text) could not stand to minister in the Temple

Temple, because of the Cloud, for the Glory of the Lord had filled the House. So the Prophet Ezekiel speaking of the visionary Sight which he had of God's Glory, saith, *As the Appearance of the Bow, that is in the Cloud in the Day of Rain; so was the Appearance of the Brightness round about the Fire: This was the Appearance of the likeness of the Glory of the Lord.* I could produce many more Texts out of the Old Testament, to shew how the Manifestation of God's Presence by such splendid and glorious Signs was called his *Glory*, but I rather proceed to shew how it is alluded, and referenced unto in the New, as in *Rom. ix. 4.* where the Apostle speaking of the *Israelites*, saith, *To whom pertaineth the Adoption, and the Glory,* &c. for the visible Manifestations of the Presence of God. So *Heb ix. 5.* The Cherubims under which God appeared are called *the Cherubims of Glory*, and *Rom. i. 23.* Speaking of that unworthy Manner in which the Gentiles, and the Followers of *Simon*, and *Menander* who complied with them, represented the Majesty of God, *They changed* (saith he) *the Glory, i. e.* the Presence, or Appearance of God which never was exhibited but by Fire, Light, and such like Things, without any manner of similitude, *into an Image made like unto corruptible Man, and to Birds and Beasts, and creeping things.*

So *John i. 14.* *The Word was made Flesh, and dwelt among us, and we behold his Glory,*
T
the

the Glory as of the only Begotten of the Father. i. e. the אלהים אברהם the Eternal Word, as St. Ignatius calls him, came in our Flesh and dwelt in it, as God did in the Jewish Tabernacle, and we by his Wonders, and wonderful Holiness and other Signs, perceived his Presence in it, the Presence as of the only Begotten of the Father, full of Grace and Truth.

Here you see the Presence and Manifestation of the Godhead in the Body of Christ, is allusively called his Glory, and in likemanner the Appearance of God in the Primitive Christian Church by the Gift of the Spirit, and the extraordinary Sanctity and Patience of the Christians is called the *Glory of God* in *Rev. xxi.* where the Christian Church is mystically called the new *Jerusalem*, and the Tabernacle of God, in which he dwelt among Men; and this holy City, wherein God was so conspicuous in the wonderful Graces, which he shed upon the Christians, *had no need of the Sun, or Moon to shine in it, for the Glory, i. e. the Presence of God did lighten it and the Lamb was the Light thereof.*

In like Manner the Presence of Christ in his Ministers is called his Glory. *2 Cor. viii. 23* *If any do enquire of Titus he is my Partner; or if our Brethren be enquired after, they are the Messengers of the Churches and the Glory of Christ.* And Accordingly the Manifestation of him in their Works, Doctrine, and eminent Sanctity is also called Glory. *2 Pet. i. 2. Hat*

given

given us all Things pertaining unto Life and Godliness through the Knowledge of him, that hath called us to Glory and Virtue.

So 2 Cor. iv. 5. The Revelation of God unto the World by the Gospel, is called *the Light of the Knowledge of the Glory*, i. e. of the Manifestation of God in the Face of Jesus Christ, and in 1 Pet. iv. 4. Those that suffer'd for Christ, are said in allusion to the *Shechinah*, to have the Glory and Spirit of God to rest upon them, because, I conceive, God appeared as eminently in them in their Confessions and Sufferings, as if his Glory had descended upon them in lambent Fires, and rested upon their Heads. According to this Explication of the Text, when our Saviour foretold the Crucifixion of Peter in these Words: *When thou wast young thou girdedst thyself, and walkedst whither thou wouldest, but when thou shalt be old thou shalt stretch forth thy Hands, and another shall gird thee, and carry thee whither thou wouldest not; this he spake* (saith the Evangelist) *signifying by what Death we should Glorifie God.*

By this Time you may perceive, that the Glory of God from signifying the *Shechinah* as the Jews called his *visible Presence*, comes to signifie his Presence, or Manifestation any other way, more especially in the Words and Actions of Men, according to which metaphorical Sense, to Glorifie, signifies in the general to manifest, or evidence God. In this

ense the Father is said to glorifie the Son, and the Son to glorifie the Father; and in this Sense our Saviour said of the Sicknes of *Lazarus*: *This Sicknes is not unto Death, but for the Glory of God, that the Son of God might be glorified thereby.* And according to this Sense also the *Gentiles* and *Gnosticks* are charged by the Apostle, *That altho' they knew God, yet they glorified him not as God:* and because he that praiseth God doth in an eminent manner manifest, evidence, and set him forth; therefore saith he in the Psalmist, *Whoso offereth me Praise glorifieth me:* and from hence I conceive it came to pass that the Tongue, by which we publickly confess, and acknowledge God, and declare the infinite Worth and Excellencies of his blessed Nature, came to be called by the Name of *Glory*, as in *Psal.* lvi. *Awake my Glory*, and in *Psal.* cviii. *I will sing and give Praise with my Glory*, which in the other Translation is exegetically rendered with *the best Member that I have.*

But more-especially, and to come nearer to my purpose, in this very Sense we are said to glorifie, *i. e.* to confess and acknowledge God, or make him appear in our Works; and in that emphatical Place of *St. John*, where our Saviour told his Disciples, *herein is my Father glorified, that you bear much Fruit;* and the words of the Apostle to the *Corinthians*, *Ye are bought with a Price, therefore glorifie God in your Bodies and in your Spirit, which are God's.*

From hence you may perceive that the Glory of God in the moral Signification, in which it is proposed for the supreme End of all human Actions, hath a near Alliance, and Reference unto the Phrase in the physical Sense thereof; for as in this, it signifies the visible Manifestation or Appearance of God in Fire, Light, Clouds, and other refracted Colours: So in that, it signifies the visible Manifestation of him in the Course of Mens Lives. So in that the Sense of my Text is plainly this: *Whether you Eat or Drink, or whatsoever you do, do all to the Manifestation of God*: Let him appear in your Conversation; make publick Recognition of him in your Lives; and so order all your Affairs, and behave your selves in all your Actions, that the World may see that your Souls are possess'd with a due Sense of him, and that he is in you of a Truth.

To this purpose saith the Apostle *Phil. i. 10.* *Approve the Things that are Excellent, that you may be sincere and without Offence till the Day of Christ, being filled with the Fruits of Righteousness, which are by Christ Jesus unto the Glory and Praise of God.* And so true and exact is this Analogy between the Physical and Moral Glory of God, that every righteous Person who lives in Obedience and Subjection to his Laws, and walks as a Child of Light, doth as Effectually declare and set forth God, and his special Presence in himself unto the World, as if the Cloud of Glory, which filled the

House of the Lord, constantly surrounded his Temples, or as if a Man should behold God speaking unto him Face to Face, as he did unto *Moses*, as a Man speaketh unto his Friend.

What the *Psalmist* said of the Heavens, may be truly said of Divine and heavenly Men, they declare the Glory of God, they set forth his Power and Wisdom, and Goodness, and all his other adorable Perfections, they visibly bear his Image in being conformed unto the Likeness of his Son, their Holy Lives are a Comment upon his blessed Nature, they Preach him continually by their Example. In a Word, as the Apostle said of the Corinthians, they are the visible Epistle of Christ to the World, written not with Ink, but with the Spirit of the Living God, they are the Light of the World, burning and shining Lights, and so shine before Men that they may see their good Works, and be brought in like manner by the Benefit of their Example to glorify their Father, which is in Heaven.

Having now explained the true and genuine Notion of *God's Glory*, which the Christian Philosophy proposes for the Supreme End of Human Actions, I proceed in the second Place to make a general Division of Human Actions into their several Kinds, that I may the better shew under each Kind how we may make God as the Sense we have of his infinite Majesty, and of our duty to him, appear in all our Actions

or how we may direct all our Actions to his Glory, as unto their supreme End.

For as Cicero saith, *Nulla vitæ pars neque publicis, neque privatis, neque forensibus, neque domesticis in rebus, neque si tecum agas quid, neque si cum altero contrahas, vacare officio potest*--- There is no Part of our Lives, whether we be employed in Publick or Private Matters, in Business belonging to the Law, or in our Domestical Affairs, whether we have to deal with ourselves alone, or whether we have to deal with others, but it is attended with certain Duties ; in the constant Performance of which, we make it appear to all the World, that there is an Eternal and Immutable distinction between Good and Evil, and that there is a God infinitely Wise, and Just, and Powerful, that will judge every Man according to his Works. Nay in observing these duties which attend us in all our Actions, we shew unto all the World the Power of the divine Assistance within us, by which we are enabled so to act, and that Principle of holy Love and Fear in our Hearts, which makes us so constant and regular in conforming our Actions unto the Laws of God.

But this Division of Human Actions by Cicero is defective in this, that it only concerns our secular Actions, omitting one considerable Part of our Lives, which ought to be spent in the Temple, and in divine Worship : and therefore, laying it aside, I shall prefer the Scriptural

Division of Human Actions as the most perfect, and comprehensive with Respect to their objects, *God, our Neighbour, and our selves.* This Distinction is founded on *Tit. ii. 12.* where the Apostle tells, *That the Gospel teacheth all Men that we should live righteously, soberly, and godly in this present World; looking for the blessed Hope, and the glorious Appearance of the great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ.*

I shall begin with the first Branch of this Distinction, which concerns those Actions of ours, which have God for their Object, and are immediately conversant about him, as when we speak of him, from him, or to him; be it in Prayers, Praises, or Vows, or in Swearing by his Holy Name. In all these Cases we immediately direct our selves unto God, and when we so behave our selves in them, as to let others see the mighty Sense we have of his Infinite Majesty, and how much we love, fear, admire and adore him; then and only then he appears in those Actions; which indeed tend no otherwise to his *Glory*, than as they are declarative of his Existence and absolute Perfections; as of his Sovereignty, Providence, Power, Truth, Wisdom, and Goodness: And he that treats him in this Religious Manner, when he hath occasion to be any of those Ways conversant about him, doth manifest his Eternal Power and Godhead, as effectually, as if God stood by, as he did by *Moses* in a Flame of Fire in the Bush.

Wherefore

Wherefore, whensoever we have occasion to mention God, or speak to others in his Name, or whensoever we offer up Prayers or Praises, or make Vows unto him, or call upon him in Solemn Oaths, to attest the Truth of what we swear, let us do it in a manner suitable to his infinite Majesty, in such a manner, as will serve to express and declare to others, what awful and serious Apprehensions we have of his most Excellent Nature, and if we do so, we need not doubt, but our Religious Behaviour will make very sensible Impressions upon them, and contribute more or less, like the sight of his Glory, to strike into them the fear and Reverence of his Holy Name.

When St. Paul discoursed with *Felix* concerning the Faith in Christ, he did it in such a manner, that, as he reasoned of *Righteousness*, of his *temperance*, and *Judgment to come*, *Felix* Trembled, and had the Glory of God rested all the while upon the Apostle, What could the Governor have done more? Thus the Presence of God appeared so eminently in the Words and Actions of St. *Ambrose* when he forbid the Emperor *Theodosius* in God's Name to enter into the Church; that his Majesty could not have been more humbled and penitent for the innocent Blood shed at *Theffalonica*, altho' he had seen the Cloud of Glory hang over the Temple, or encircle the Head of the Divine Presence, while he spoke unto him. The Historian tells us, that he returned unto his Palace,

Στέγων

* Στενω καὶ λυγρῶς, sighing and weeping, and from these, without multiplying other Examples, we may learn how much God may be glorified and made appear in those Actions of Men, which are immediately conversant about him.

Hither we must also reduce the Glory that accrues unto God, by the Respect and Observation which we ought to shew towards all *Things, Times, Persons, and Places*, which belong unto him; as to the Scriptures because they are his Word, to the Clergy, because they are his Ministers, to the Church, because it is his House, to the Christian Religion, because it is his Religion, and to the First Day of the Week, because it is the Lord's-Day. All these Things challenge a particular respect from us, different from all other Things of the same Name and Kind upon the Account of their Relation unto God, and when we treat them with Reverence for his Sake, the Honour of it redounds to him, because every Action of that Nature is a solemn Acknowledgment and Declaration, That he is the Great and Holy God.

These are all genuine Duties, and Effects of Godliness, or Religioutness, as it is distinguished from other Parts of Christian Piety. But alas how little of it is practised in this Profane Age? How little Religious, and how

* Theodor. l. 5. c. 18.

much Profane and Atheistical Discourse is now to be heard in all Companies? Nay, how is the Worship of God, which above all other Things is ordained for his Glory, dishonoured and profaned, and almost perverted to the contrary End, by the irreverent and unworthy Carriage of Man. To see how many Men behave themselves in the Service of God, would tempt an indifferent Man to believe, that they designed not to acknowledge his Wisdom, Power, and Goodness, and their Trust in, and Dependance upon his infinite Majesty; but rather to deny him in the Action, and declare to all the World, that Religion is nothing but Superstition, and that it is very uncertain whether there is a God or no; or if there be, whether or no he concerns himself in the Government of the World. To this if we add the general Practice of rash and vain Swearing on one Hand, and Solemn Perjuries on the other, together with that utter disrespect, which it is now accounted brave and generous, to cast upon all Things and Persons, which belong unto God, we must needs acknowledge that there are great Numbers of Men among us, who tho' they may profess God, yet in their Works deny him, being so far from doing whatsoever they do to his Glory, that their Actions tend, and it is to be feared many of them are designed, to extirpate the Notions of him out of Mens Minds, his Fear out of their Consciences, and his Name and Religion out of the World.

II. So

II. So much for the first kind of Human Actions, which immediately regard God: From whence I proceed to the Second, which are such as regard our Neighbours, and are practised in our Dealing and Conversation with them, and in these Actions this is the Rule That they tend to God's Glory, when they tend to the Good of Men, and are declarative of that excellent and comprehensive Virtue in us, which the *Greeks* call *Philanthropy*, the *Latines*, *Humanity*, and the Christian Religion, *Love*.

This is the general Supreme Law, which God hath commanded Men, that they should love one another, according to that repeated Precept of our Saviour. *This is my Commandment, and these Things I command you, that you love one another, and that you love one another as I have loved you.*

This reiterated Precept of our blessed Saviour, made the Apostle say unto the *Thessalonians*: *Now as touching brotherly Love, ye need not that I write unto you, for ye your selves are taught of God to love one another: and this* (saith St. John in his Epist. General) *is the Message, that ye have heard from the Beginning that ye love one another.* St. Paul in several Places gives us the Reason, why our Lord so carefully enjoyn'd this Duty upon us, because it is the Fulfilling of the Second Table of the Law. *By love* (saith he Gal. 5.) *serve one another, for all the Law is fulfilled in one Word*

thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thy self. And
ve (saith he Rom. 13.) Worketh no ill to his
Neighbour, therefore Love is the Fulfilling of the
Law.

This Character of Love which the Apostle
gives us, is indeed Negative, but as all other
negatives are, it is founded in positive Sense,
that his Meaning is at large this : Love work-
eth no Ill, but worketh all manner of Good to
his Neighbour, therefore love is the fulfilling
of the Law. In these two prime Effects of Love
do no Ill, and to do all manner of Good are
founded the Laws of Justice and Charity, and
these two are comprehended all the Duties,
which every Man owes to other Men.

For Justice powerfully restrains us from do-
ing any Harm or Injury to our Neighbour, and
Charity pushes us on to do him all good Offi-
ces, and Kindness ; and therefore all just, and
charitable Actions, which spring from the Di-
vine Root of Humanity, or Love, must needs
lead to the Glory of God, and the Manifesta-
tion of his Divine Nature, who as St. John saith
Love and who in the Saxon Tongue [from
which the Dialect of our Country is but one
move] is called *God*, because he is good ;
in our Saviours Answer to the Ruler, who
called him good Master, an *gōð* is *gōð*, or nan
an is *gōð* butan *gōð*, and there is none good save
ly God. According to this Derivation of his
name the Apostle saith *That Love is of God,*
and that every one that loveth is born of God,
and

and he that loveth not, or hath not the Grace of Love in him, knoweth not God, for God is Love, or made up of Love, and kindness to Men. No Man hath seen God at any time; if we love one another God dwelleth in us, and his Love is perfected in us, and hereby we know, that we dwell in him, and he in us, because he hath given us of the Spirit of Love.

In these Words dwelleth and dwell the Apostle emphatically alludes to the Shechinah, or Glory, by which God manifested his Presence in the Jewish Tabernacle, or Temple, and the Meaning of them is, that we cannot give a better Evidence of God's abiding in us, and dwelling in our Souls than by the Spirit, and Temper of Love; if we would make it appear to the World, that he is in us, or that we are of him, and conformed unto his Image and Example; nay if we would make it appear that we are acquainted with his Divine Nature, or declare that we believe he hath loved us. Nay would we shew our Obedience to his strictest and dearest Command, which he hath exemplified in his Son, or give a right Proof to others, that we love him, as he hath loved us, it must be by conforming all our Dealings with Men to the Rules of Justice, and Charity, which are the genuine, and immediate effects of Love. Beloved let us love one another for Love is of God, and every one that loveth is born of God, and knoweth God; God is Love, and he that dwelleth in Love dwelleth in God.

and God in him, and this Commandment we have from him, that he who loveth God, loveth his Brother also.

Nay furthermore the best Proof that we can give to our selves and others, that we are Re-generate Persons, and have passed from a State of Death unto Life, is our Love to our fellow-Christians ; for, saith the Apostle, *We know that we have passed from Death unto Life, because we love the Brethren ; he that loveth not his Brother, abideth in Death.*

From all this, I hope it is plain, that the best way for Men to set forth the blessed Nature of God, and the Conformity of their Spirits unto him, is to be just, and charitable in all their Dealings with all sorts of Men. When their Actions are conformed to this Rule, they shew what God is, and how like they are unto him ; and when they are not, all their Religion is but Shew, Pretence and Hypocrisie, and as loathsome to Almighty God, as Atheism, or Idolatry is to him. Thus in the first of *Isaiah*, which I referr you ; the Prophet lets the People of *Israel* know, that *without Justice, Judgment, and Charity, their Sabbaths, Assemblies, and Sacrifices, and Offerings, Prayers were vain and loathsome unto him ; he hated them, and was weary of them, and would not delight therein* : Nay, from observing these two general Laws, of Justice, and Charity ; whereof the one keeps us off from doing Injury, or Harm, and the other obliges us to

to do all the Good we can to other Men, results all the Happiness of Human Societies, and all the Good that Men mutually receive from one another in every Relation of the World.

This makes Princes as Gods upon Earth, and Subjects as obedient and dutiful unto them, the Angels are unto God, not only for Wrath but Conscience-sake. It makes Husbands love their Wives as Christ loved his Church, and Wives submit themselves unto their own Husbands, as it is fit in the Lord. It keeps Parents from provoking their Children; and obliges Children to obey their Parents in all Things because it is well pleasing unto the Lord. It makes Masters so behave themselves to their Servants, as to let them know that they have a Master in Heaven; and Servants Account their Masters worthy of all Honour, and obey them, not with Eye-service, as Men-please but in Singleness of Heart, fearing God, and doing whatsoever they do heartily, as unto the Lord. It makes Bishops and Ministers look after themselves, and unto the Flocks over which the chief Shepherd hath made them Overseers, and their Flocks obey them that have the Rule over them in the Lord, because they watch for their Souls. In a Word, Justice and Charity which spring from one Root, and which the Scriptures call by the Name of Righteousness, all special Relations exert themselves in special Effects; and, might they govern the World, they would quickly turn it into Paradise, and

make all Human Societies, Kingdoms, Churches, Cities, Colleges, Companies, Counties and Families, so many *Penuels*, where the Lord might be seen.

III. And so I proceed to the third sort of Human Actions, which concern our Duty towards our selves; and they, tend to the Glory of God, and making of him shine in our Conversations, when they are kept within the Divine Bounds of Moderation or Sobriety, which are to be observed in the Government of the Body and Soul. The Government of the Body consists on one Hand in keeping of it from the excessive Desire and use of Pleasure, and on the other from the excessive Aversion, and Abhorrence of Pain.

Under Pleasure we may reduce all Things that are very pleasant, or delightful to the bodily Appetite; as Meats, in which our Moderation is called *Temperance*; or in Drinks, where it is more-especially called *Sobriety*; or in Carnal Pleasures, where it is called *Chastity*; or in Riches and Honours, which we may call *Contempt of the World*.

And under Pain we may reduce all Things that are very ungrateful, and grievous unto it; the bearing of which our Moderation is called Fortitude, Patience, and Constancy, and it contains the Christian Duty of *taking up the Cross*.

And as for the Government of the Soul, there is one Rule which Sobriety prescribes to it also, and that is not to think more highly of

her self than she ought to think ; but to think soberly, as the Apostle speaks, and this is *Humility, or Lowliness of Mind*.

Now according to this comprehensive Scheme, set before your Eyes a Man who limits all his Actions of this kind within the Bounds of Moderation and Sobriety ; and then tell me, whether they do not make it appear, that he is θεοφόρος and χριστοφόρος, as the Holy Martyr *Ignatius* called himself, ὁ ὃς Χριστὸν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ μενοῖσιν, ὃς ἡμεῖς θεῶν, one in whom Christ is formed, one that bears God about in his Soul ; the Temple of his Residence, even the Living Tabernacle of the Gospel-Shechinah, which is the Holy Ghost ; *Know you not*, saith the Apostle, *that you are the Temple of God, and that his Spirit dwelleth in you ?* Yes the Spirit of God resides in such Men ; and every Temperate, Sober, Chast, and Humble Person hath so much of his Likeness and Appearance upon him, and shews so much of his Divine Nature in all his Actions, that usually his Presence strikes an awe into dissolute Sinners, and makes them uneasy in the midst of their Sensual Enjoyments, unless they chance to be such as the Apostle saith *deny God in their Works, being abominable, disobedient, and reprobate unto every good Work*.

And it is the great Dishonour and Misfortune of this Age to abound with Men of all Ranks and Denominations, who are past the common sense of God and Religion, who as

the

the Apostle saith, *Are alienated from the Life of God, because of the Blindness of their Heart, and who, being past feeling, have given themselves over unto Lasciviousness, to work all Uncleaness with Greediness.* Men who have nothing but the Habits and Figure of their Bodies, to distinguish them from Beasts, being utterly devoid of Reason, that Divine Principle, which *Cicero* saith, is common to Man and God. There is nothing of God which appears in these Men, and their Actions; but they shew themselves to be of their Father the Devil: They are conformed unto his Image, him they will glorifie, and his Works they will do.

Having now explained the true and genuine Sense of God's Glory, and having in the second Place made a Division of Human Actions into their several Kinds, and shewn under each Kind how they are to be directed to God's Glory, I now come to bring the Application of all this to our Meeting and Feasting together, that we may not fall short of the Apostle's Rule, who tells us, *that whether we eat or drink, or whatsoever we do, we must do all to the Glory of God.*

These County-Meetings, as they are in the general designed, so they may in an especial manner be directed unto this great end; as they are excellent Means of endearing Countrymen together, and of begetting Brotherly Love and Kindness among them to one another, but most especially, as they give the Richer

fort an Opportunity of providing for the Poor.

The customary manner in which we meet, doth declare this to be the principal End of this sort of Meetings; for first we come together in the Church, that we may Worship the Fountain of Love and Beneficence, and hear some profitable Exhortation to imitate his Charity, and then we go to eat and drink together in a Joyful and Festival Manner of his good Creatures; that having our Bodies refreshed, and our Spirits exhilarated in the sober use of them, we should be better disposed to this good Work. But if after all this Shew and Preparation we give nothing, or grudgingly, and not according to our Power, we shall moralize the Birth of the Mountains, and disappoint the Expectation both of God and Men.

I believe there are no such Provincial *'Αγῶναι*, or Feasts of Charity in the Capital City of any other Nation in the World; it is perhaps the Honour of the *English* to be the first Authors of such Beneficent and Charitable Institutions; but then this must needs be said on the other Hand, that if they exceed other Countries in this or any other sort of Christian Magnificence, and Liberality, it is but their Duty to do so, because tho' *England* be not the richest Country, yet the *English* are the richest People in the World.

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For as the learned Chancellor *Fortescue* wrote along ago, * It is the Happiness of the *English* to live in a Realm where the Regal, or Despotic is under the Limitation of the Civil Power; and where the King cannot change the Laws without the consent of his Subjects, nor charge them with Impositions against their Wills, because he governeth his People, not only by Regal, but also by Political Power.

This gives us a securer Property than any other People, makes us Masters of our Purcses, and Estates; and if by the singular Blessing of such a Government we heap up Riches above the Subjects of any other Foreign Countries, it is but reasonable that we should find out some peculiar Ways of expressing our Gratitude unto God.

This Obligation is common to us with all our Fellow-Subjects, but besides this we have particular Reasons why we should be free and plentiful in our Contributions to our poor Countrymen, for our County, as the curious observe, is the Epitome of *England*, whatsoever is excellent in the whole Land being to be found in proportion there: Besides this, God hath been pleased to make it the Birth-Place, and Nursery of many Great Men, and special Instruments of his Glory, as of *Constantine* the first Christian Emperor, whom all those who assert *Britain* to have been the Place of his Birth, must needs acknowledge to have been

* *De Land. Leg. Angl. Cap. 9.*

born at *Tork*. I shall not name any more, because it is fitter to talk over the long Catalogue of our Worthies at the Table than in the Pulpit; and also because it cannot be done without seeming to flatter some very Eminent and Worthy Persons of all Ranks and Professions, who I ought to suppose are present here.

Therefore, in Acknowledgement of all the Blessings and Honours which God hath bestowed upon our Country, and to oblige him to keep it, as he did the Holy Land, which it equals in Greatness, under the Wings of his special Protection, let us now be ample Benefactors to the Poor thereof.

We cannot do any thing that will redound more to the Credit of our Country and Religion, or more manifest the Preience of God among us in this Solemnity, than by doing for our indigent Countrymen, as we should expect, our Conditions being changed, that they should do for us. If we do so, we shall fully answer the end of this Festival Meeting, and lay up for our selves a good Foundation against the Time to come, but if we do otherwise, not giving at all, or not giving to them according as God hath given unto us, we shall, to say no worse, fall shamefully short of the Apostle's Rule, who tells us, *That whether we eat, or Drink, or whatsoever we do, we must do all to the Glory of God: To whom, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, be ascribed, as is most due, all Honour, Praise and Glory, now and evermore.* Amen.

The END.

A
DISCOURSE
OF THE
Sovereign Power :
IN A
SERMON

Preached at
St. Mary Le Bow, Nov. 28. 1682.

Before the
Artillery COMPANY
of LONDON;

And now published at their Desire.

BY
GEORGE HICKES, D. D.
Chaplain in Ordinary to His Majesty.

The Second Edition.

LONDON,
Printed for JOHN CHURCHILL, at the *Black*
Swan in Pater-Noster-Row, 1713.

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To the Right Honourable
Sir *William Pritchard*, Lord Mayor of
the City of *LONDON*,
and President of the Artillery COMPANY.

To the Honourable,
Sir *James Smith*, Knight and Alderman,
Vice-President.

To the Right Worshipful,
Sir *Matthew Andrews*, Treasurer.

As also to the Right Honourable,
Duke of *Albermarle*, | Earl of *Arundel*,
Earl of *Oxford*, | Lord *Falkland*,

To the Honourable, and Right Worshipful,
Henry *Guy*, Esq; | Sir *William Dodson*, Kt
William *Legg*, Esq; | Charles *Duncomb*, Esq;

STEWARDS.

And to the whole Court of Assistants, Field-
Officers, Captains, and Gentlemen, Pro-
fessing and Exercising Arms in that Re-
nowned and Honourable Society.

Right Honourable,

[IN Obedience to your Desire, I have published
this Discourse, which I Preached before you
in your late Anniversary Solemnity; and if it
may contribute to the further Satisfaction of any
who are already Loyal, or the Conviction, and
Reformation

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORY.

Reformation of such as are not truly so, I shall be thankful to God for Blessing so mean a Performance with such happy Success. The Subject, I am sure, is suitable to the Occasion upon which it was Preach'd, and very necessary for the Times; but yet I foresee it will displease some Men whose Displeasure indeed I do not value, because their Favour is not to be obtained by any Minister of the Church of England, who will not be false to his own Profession, and utterly decline the Preaching upon these Doctrines, and Duties which I have here plainly Taught. But you have not so Learned Christ, as appears by the Entertainment, which this unpolished Sermon hath found among you, meerly for the Truths sake. Your Approbation will be Protection sufficient both to it and the Author, who Presents it unto you with all due Observance, wishing a daily Increase of such Obedient and Dutiful Subjects to His Majesty, as you are, to whose firm and active Loyalty, next unto God's and our Governours Vigilant Care and Providence, we owe our present Order, and Peace. I am,

Right Honourable,

Your most Obedient Servant,

GEORGE HICKES.

Rom. 13. 4.

*He beareth not the Sword in Vain : for
he is the Minister of God.*

The Context before, and after is this : *Wilt thou then not be afraid of the Power ? do that which is good, and thou shalt have Praise of the same. For he is the Minister of God, to thee for good : But if thou do that which is Evil, be afraid, for he beareth not the Sword in vain, for he is the Minister of God, a Revenger to execute Wrath upon him, that doth Evil.*

Altho' there now are, and have been for above Two thousand Years, many Forms of Civil Government in the World, yet all Historians Sacred, or Civil, that write of the Times near unto the Flood, assure us, that Monarchies were every where erected in those Ages, and that Kings were then the Sovereigns of the Earth. Popular Governments, whether by the whole Body of the People, as in *Democracies* ; or in a Select Number of the Chief, as in *Aristocracies*, were then in the Wombs of their special Causes, being afterwards introduced either by the Compact and Agreement of Men, free to choose their own Government, as in new Colonies,

nies, and Dispersions; or else by Rebellion, as in the famous Common-wealth of *Rome*, which at first was Governed by * Kings after the most Primitive Form, and then after the Rebellion of *Brutus*, *Valerius* and *Collatinus* by the † four great Letters, *the Senate*, and *People of Rome*, and at last again by Kings; upon whom first under the Name of || *Prince*, and then under the Titles of *Emperor*, and *Augustus*, *the Senate*, and *People*, not able to secure the publick Peace without a Sovereign Head, conferred all their Power; and as the Greek and Latin Historians, observe, really made them *Kings*, altho', to prevent Offence on both Sides, they must not *forsooth* be so called.

It was under *Claudius* the 5th. or *Nero* the Sixth of these Emperours, that *St. Paul* wrote this Epistle unto the *Romans*, in which it is to be observed, that he asserts the *Roman* Emperor to be the Minister of God, altho' he was chosen by the Army, or the People, or sometimes by both, for even in Elective Monarchies, where the People choose the *Sovereign*, he hath not his Authority from his Electors, but from God, as in Oeconomical Government, the Prince of the Family, if I may so speak, hath not his Authority as an Husband, from the Wife, who chose him for her Husband,

* *Urbem Romam à principio reges habuere*, Tacit.

† *S. P. Q. R.*

|| *Nomine principis sub imperium accepit*, Tacit.

or the Authority of a Master, from the Servant who chose him for his Master, But his Conjugal, and Despotical Authority are both from God, who hath made the Husband the Head of his Wife, *as Christ is the Head of the Church*, and the Master Lord, and Commander over his Servants, *whom they are to count worthy of Honour, and be Obedient unto them, as unto Christ.*

The Choice indeed of the Husband, and Master is from the Wife, and Servant, but the Power of them both is from God, they were free, as to their Choice, but after it they are not free, as to their Subjection, nor can they disobey them without disobeying God. Just as it is in Elective Monarchies, the People or their Deputies may choose the Man whom they will have for their *Prince*, but they do not give him his Authority; *that* he hath from God upon their Election, which made *Valentinian* when the Army, that chose him Emperor, cryed out, that he should take a Partner in the Government, answer them upon this principle thus: † *It was in your Power Soldiers, choose me for your Emperor, but now you have chosen me, that which you demand is not in your Power, but mine: you ought to be quiet, as Subjects, and I as an Emperor to consider what is fit to be done.* And Accordingly the Apostle here in my Text asserts *Claudius*, or as it is more exactly, *Nero* the Emperor, who was chosen by the Army, and Senate, not to be *their* Mini-

† Sozom. L. 6. C. 6.

ster,

ster, or to have any Ministerial, or Fiduciary Power *under* them, but to be the Minister of God *over* them, and *as such* to have the Power of the Sword. *He beareth not the Sword in Vain, for he is the Minister of God.*

According to which Explication of the Words; I shall undertake to prove two Propositions. First, *That Sovereign Princes are God's Ministers, and Vice-Gerents, and Reign by his special Ordinance and Appointment.* And Secondly. *That as such they have and exercise the Supreme Power, and particularly the Power of the Sword.* And these two Propositions being proved, I shall make some practical Inference from this Loyal Doctrine, proper to *this Audience* and the Exigence of the Times, in which we live.

I. First then, that Sovereign Princes are God's Ministers, and Vice-Gerents, and Reign by his special Ordinance, is plain from many express Texts of the Old and New Testament, which are the Loyallest, as well as the Divineſt Books in the World. I will begin with the Old Testament, whose Authority were it not of Divine Inspiration, ought upon the Account of its Antiquity, to preponderate with us above any other Volume in the World.

There * as *Irenæus* observes, God ſaith in the 8th. Ch. of the Book of *Proverbs*, By

* Lib. 5. cap. 24.

*Kings Reign, and Princes decree Justice, by me Prin-
s Rule, and Nobles, even all the Judges of the
arth. Hence Nebuchadnezzar King of Baby-
n, is called God's Servant, or Minister, Jer.
7. 5, 6. I have made the Earth, and given it
to whom it seemed meet unto me, and now I
ve given all these Lands into the Hands of Ne-
chadnezzar the King of Babylon, my Ser-
ant, and all Nations shall serve him, and his
n, and his Son's Son, untill the very Time of
s Land come, and then many Nations, and
eat Kings shall serve themselves of him. Ac-
ordingly when Daniel spoke unto him, he
id, Thou, O King, art a King of Kings, for
e God of Heaven hath given thee a Kingdom,
wer, and Strength, and Glory. Chap. 2. 37.
d afterwards speaking of him unto Belshazzar
s Son, he said, O thou King! the most High
d gave Nebuchadnezzar thy Father a King-
n, and Majesty, and Glory, and Honour,
d for the Majesty that he gave him, all
ple trembled and feared before him; whom he
ld he slew, and whom he would he kept alive,
d whom he would he set up, and whom he would
pulled down.*

According to this Doctrine also God calleth
us his Shepherd, and Anointed; the very
les which he gave the Kings of Israel,
om he set over his own People. Thus saith
Lord, I am the Lord that maketh all Things,
t stretcheth forth the Heavens alone, that
b of Cyrus he is my Shepherd; and, Thus
saith

saith the Lord to Cyrus his Anointed, I have even called thee by thy Name, I have surnamed thee, though thou hast not known me. I have chosen to Instance in these Two Pagan Kings rather than in the Kings of Israel, because you may see, that there is no difference among Sovereign Princes, as to the Divinity of their Title, but that the Sacred Order of Kings in general, is the Ordinance of God. And therefore God to Lecture this Doctrine more Emphatically unto us, hath together with the Sovereign Authority communicated unto them his own Name. Thou shalt not revile the Gods (saith God) nor curse the Ruler of the People, and saith the Psalmist, Ps. 82. God standeth in the Congregation of the Mighty, and judgeth among the Gods; and I have said ye are Gods, and all of you are Children of the most High. In Allusion to which (saith our Saviour in his own Defence, Is it not written in your Law, I said ye are Gods; and if he called the Gods about whom the Word of God was spoken, say ye of him, whom the Father hath sanctified and sent into the World, thou blasphemest, because thou sayest I am the Son of God. That is as much as to say, if Kings, who are Anointed and sent by God, are called Gods, and the Son of God, then how can it be Blasphemy in me, who am the Messias himself sent from God, to say I am his Son.

Yes, Kings are petty Gods, who Govern Men upon Earth as *Michael and Gabriel* Govern

their Angels in Heaven, by immediate Delegation from God. Their Sovereignty is an Image of his Sovereignty, their Majesty the Figure of his Majesty, and their Empire a similitude of his Empire, they are Supreme on Earth, as he is in heaven, they derive not their Authority from their Subjects (for that would be a Contradiction) as he derives not his from his Creatures, but from him alone they derive it, they are his Lieutenants, and Trustees, the Honour or Dishonour we do them terminates in him, who gives them their Scepters, and sets them as the Scripture saith, he set *Solomon* upon his own Throne, and made him King, for the Lord his God, *1 Chr. 29. 23. 2 Chr. 9. 8.*

This is further evident out of the New Testament, from that solemn Acknowledgment which our blessed Saviour as a Subject of the Empire, made of the Sovereign Power of *Tiberius*, whom he owned, by paying the Tribute, which was due unto him, for the Minister of God. *For, for this Cause* (saith the Apostle) *pay you Tribute also, because they are God's Ministers, attending continually upon this very Thing.* To which I shall only add the Verses before, and after my Text: *Let every Soul be subject to the higher Powers, for there is no Power but of God, the Powers that be are ordained of God, whosoever therefore resisteth the Power resisteth the Ordinance of God, and they that resist shall receive to themselves Damnation.*-----

thou then not be afraid of the Power, do that which is good and thou shalt have Praise of the same, for he is the Minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is Evil, be afraid, for he beareth not the Sword in Vain; for he is the Minister of God, a Revenger to execute Wrath upon him that doth Evil. Wherefore, you ought to be subject not only for Wrath, but also for Conscience-sake.

Here you see how Emphatically the Apostle styleth the Power, the Ordinance, and the Potentate, or Ruler, the Minister of God. And according to this Apostolical Lesson the Primitive Christians did acknowledge the Authority of their persecuting Emperors to be derived from God.

* *Theophilus Bishop of Antioch saith, I will honour the Emperor, but not adore him; I adore the true God, knowing, that by him the Emperor is ordained. And to the same Purpose again, He is not himself God, but a Man appointed by God, and after a Sort entrusted by God, with the Oeconomy of the Empire. So* † *Athenagoras Addressing his Speech to Marcus Antoninus, and his Son Commodus: to you (saith he) the Power of all Things is committed, you have recieved the Empire from above. So* ‖ *Origen tells Celsus, that it was not the Heathen*

* *Ad Autol. L. 1.*

† *Legat. pro Christ.*

‖ *Lib. 8.*

God Saturn, but God who Governeth all Things, that setteth up Kings, and giveth them Power to Reign, and * in Eusebius, Dionysius of Alexandria saith in the Name of the Christians, we worship, and adore the one God, who hath committed the Kingdom to our Sacred Emperors Valerianus, and Gallienus. And * Irenæus Bishop, and Martyr, after a particular Proof of this Doctrine by many Texts of Scripture, and this of mine among the rest, concludes with these Words: *By whose Command Kings are born Men, by his Command likewise are Men ordained Kings.* And so Tertullian after him: *Thence is the Emperor from whence he was a Man, before he was Emperor, thence he hath his Authority, from whence he hath his Breath.* And again, *We must of necessity reverence the Emperor, as one, that our Lord hath chosen, so that we may reasonably say, that Cæsar is rather ours, than yours, as being ordained by our God.* Apol. c. 30. 33. and in another Place, a Christian is an Enemy to no Man, much less to the Emperor, whom he knows to be appointed by God. *Id Scapul.*

This was current Divinity among the Christians under the Pagan and Persecuting Emperors, and what it was after they turned Christians, may be seen in the Apology of St. Athanasius to Constantius, especially from these Words:

thou then not be afraid of the Power, do that which is good and thou shalt have Praise of the same, for he is the Minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is Evil, be afraid, for he beareth not the Sword in Vain; for he is the Minister of God, a Revenger to execute Wrath upon him that doth Evil. Wherefore, you ought to be subject not only for Wrath, but also for Conscience-sake.

Here you see how Emphatically the Apostle styleth the Power, the Ordinance, and the Potentate, or Ruler, the Minister of God. And according to this Apostolical Lesson the Primitive Christians did acknowledge the Authority of their persecuting Emperors to be derived from God.

* *Theophilus* Bishop of *Antioch* saith, I will honour the Emperor, but not adore him; I adore the true God, knowing, that by him the Emperor is ordained. And to the same Purpose again, He is not himself God, but a Man appointed by God, and after a Sort entrusted by God, with the Oeconomy of the Empire. † *Athenagoras* Addressing his Speech to *Marcus Antoninus*, and his Son *Commodus*: to you (saith he) the Power of all Things is committed, you have recieved the Empire from above. So || *Origen* tells *Celsus*, that it was not the Heathen

* *Ad Autol. L. 1.*

† *Legat. pro Christ.*

|| *Lib. 8.*

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O Almighty Lord, eternal King, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, thou by thy Word hast given the Empire to thy Servant Constantius. It would be endless to cite more Authorities to confirm this Doctrine out of the Fathers, I will rather shew how it hath been taught by our own Acts, and Authors, of our own Sovereigns, the Kings of the *English* * Empire to whom God hath given this † imperial Crown, the Statute of Præmunire. XVI. R. 2. c. 5. declares that *the Crown of England is so free that it is in no Earthly Subjection, but immediately subject to God in all Things touching the regality of the same.* And the Parliament in the 25 H. 8. 21. made this Recognition unto his Majesty, that *his Graces Realm had no Superiour under God, but only his Grace.* And (24 H. 8. c. 12.) *and that next unto God they owed him a Natural, and Humble Obedience.* And long before this our Ancient, and Learned Lawyer Bracton did declare, that *the || King is the Vicar and Minister of God, and Christ; that he * hath neither equal, nor Superiour, and that † every Soul is under him, but he is under none except only God.*

* Sir Orlando Bridgman's Speech to the Regicides p. 12.

† 14.

† Cranmer's Letters to Q. Mary.

|| Lib. 1. de rer. divis. c. 2.

* Lib. 2. cap. 22.

† Lib. 1. de rer. divis. cap. 8.

As for Ecclesiastical Authorities it would take up too much time to recite them all. The * Church is to admit none into holy Orders, but such as will first subscribe, that *the Kings Majesty next under God, is the only Supreme Governour of all his Realms and Dominions*, and in the Book of † *Homilies* besides the Assertion of this Doctrine about Sovereign Princes in general, our late Sovereign King *James* is acknowledged for the *high Gift of God*. To conclude this Head, from hence it comes to pass, that our Kings, as the learned || *Bochart* observed, are styled *by the Grace of God*, and that the Royal Motto is *Dieu et mon Droit*; and accordingly this Church which is so Pure, and Primitive in her Loyalty hath taught her Children to pray: *Almighty God whose Kingdom is everlasting, and Power infinite, have mercy upon the whole Church, and so rule the Heart of thy Chosen Servant Charles, our King and Governour, that he knowing, whose Minister he is, may above all Things seek thy Honour, and Glory, and that we, and all his Subjects duly considering whose Authority he hath, may faithfully serve, honour. and humbly obey him, in thee, and for thee, according to thy blessed Word, and Ordinance.* Yes, according to the Word of the

* Canon 36. Art. 1.

† See Hom. about Obedience Part 1. and against wilful Rebellion, p. 1.

|| In *Epistolâ ad Virum* Ampl. D. Morley.

Apostle in my Text, who saith, that *he beareth not the Sword in Vain, because he is the Minister of God.*

II. Having now shewed, that *Sovereign Princes are God's Ministers, and Vice-Gerents; and Reign by his special Appointment,* I proceed to shew in the second Place, that *under that Character they have and exercise the Supreme Power, and particularly the Power of the Sword.*

This latter Proposition is a very easy and discernable Consequence from the former, and may be illustrated from the Nature of subordinate Magistrates who are the Kings Ministers, appointed under him, as he is appointed under God. As for Example: The Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* is the Kings Minister, and Vice-Gerent, and by Consequence under that Character he hath, and exercises the Supreme Power, in the Government of that Kingdom both Civil, and Military, both that of the Scepter, and that of the Sword, which the King hath committed unto him.

In like manner Sovereign Princes being, as I have shewn, God's *Lieutenants, and Vice Gerents* within their several Realms, and Dominions, they Reign under that sublime Character, and as his Representatives have, and exercise all Jurisdiction, and in particular that of the Sword; accordingly, as the Apostle saith, *he beareth not the Sword in Vain, for he is the Minister of God, a Revenger to execute Wrath, or Punishment, upon him, that doth Evil.*

Evil. Were Men of the Temper of the Angels, who obey their Superiours purely for Conscience-sake, then it would be sufficient for Princes, that they had the Commanding without the Punishing Power, but since most Men are subject more for Fear, than Conscience, it is highly necessary, that the Sovereign should be furnished with the Coercive and Vindicative Power, which may be called *the Sword of Justice*, and without which all his Laws, and Orders would be vain, precarious, and insignificant Words, and Writings, meer Cobwebs, which the Wasps and Hornets, that swarm in all Governments, would insultingly break through.

And were Men also like the good Angels free from Evil Passions, would they be quiet in the several Ranks and Stations, in which God hath set them, then Sovereign Princes like Arch-Angels, who are secure from the Insurrections of their Subjects, would be safe without the Sword; but since *Pride, Envy, and Discontent*, make Men envy their Superiours, and strive to snatch the Crowns from off their Princes Heads, since there are *Lucifers* in all Kingdoms, and the Dragon, and his Angels will in all worldly Governments, be still fighting with *Michael*, and his; it is absolutely necessary, that the *Sovereign* be furnished with the Supreme Command, Government, and Disposition of the Militia, or Military Forces, which may be called the *Sword of War*. Fur-

thermore it is necessary for the Sovereign to bear the Sword of War, not only to defend himself from his own Rebellious Subjects, but to defend both himself, and his People from the Invasions of other Sovereigns; for it is not upon Earth, as it is in Heaven, where one Principality can live without Danger, or Jealousie of another, but in all Earthly Kingdoms there must be military Societies, and Preparations, ready to oppose Foreign Violence, actual and Potential Forces, some every where as the Historian speaks, *in Equis & Armis ad subita Belli excubantes*, and if this Power of levying War, and providing Arms, and Forces, did belong to any other Person, than him whom God hath appointed for Sovereign, that Person would be Sovereign, and not he.

From whence it is plain, that the Prince hath the Sword in both Senses, from the same Hand, from which he hath his Robes, his Crown, and his Scepter. He is a Sovereign as God's Vicegerent and Representative, and he is God's Vicegerent and Representative, as he is a Sovereign, and under both, or either Character he holds the Sword, by the Authority of his Heavenly Master, who hath put it in his Hand for his Peoples Defence, and also to be an Avenger, to execute Wrath upon every Soul that is disobedient to the Laws, which are made to defend his Rights against the Invasions of his Subjects, or the Rights of his Subjects, against the Violence and Invasions of

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one another. In both these Respects he is an Avenger, and God, to whom Vengeance and the Power of Life and Death over Men Radically and Originally belongeth, hath committed the Sword of War and Justice unto him, that he might be *Vindex in Terris*, and not only Command, but Punish in his stead.

Hence the Emperor *Justinian*, who according to my first Proposition, in the first Sentence of his Preface to the Pandects, solemnly * acknowledges, that *he received his Empire from God*, doth in the beginning of his Proem to the Institutions assert *Arms to be primarily necessary for a Prince*, in the following Words: *Imperatoriam Majestatem non solum Armis decoratam, sed etiam legibus oportet esse armatam.* The Majesty of a King ought to be fortified and adorned, not only with Arms, but Laws. With Arms in the first Place, without which his Majesty would be contemptible, and his Laws of no force; for take away the Teeth and Talons of the Lyon, and his Roaring, to which *Solomon* ingeniously compares the Wrath of a King, and he shall be no longer terrible, but every vile Dog will bark, and every silly Ass will bray in his Face, and lift up his Heels against him.

Hence saith † *Glanvil* of the Kings of *England*, almost in the Words of *Justinian*,

* *Deo Autore nostrum, gubernante Imperium, quod nobis à celesti Majestate traditum est*, Præfat. L. digest.

† *Prolog. Tract. de leg. & Consuet. Regn. Angl.*

Regiam Majestatem non solum armis oportet esse decoratam, sed & legibus; and to this purpose || *Fleta, habet Rex in manu suâ omnia jura*, the King hath all the Laws in his Hand, & *materiam gladium, qui pertinet ad Regni gubernaculum*, and the Sword, which belongeth to the Government of his Kingdom, and saith *Bracton* in the beginning of his first Book; *In rege, qui rectè regit, necessaria sunt duo hæc, arma videlicet & leges*, there are two Things necessary for a King that Governs well, Arms and Laws. Hence the Laws of this Kingdom, which acknowledge the Imperial Crown and Jurisdiction of this Realm, to be taken immediately from God, according to my first Proposition, do also according to the second, acknowledge *the King's Power over the Militia, and that force of Armour belongs unto him, by vertue of his Royal Seignory*, as may be seen in the 7 of *Edward 1.* and in the 13 of our present Sovereign, c. 6. where it is declared, that *the supream Disposition of the Militia, and of all Forces by Sea and Land, and of all Forts and Places of Strength is, and by the Laws of England ever was the Right of his Majesty, and his Royal Predecessors.* And if it were not, he would not be a real, but a meer nominal King, in shew a Sovereign, or Shadow of a Sovereign, but in reality a Subject, a *Spartan King*.

a *distressed Prince* indeed, not Gods, but the Peoples unhappy Minister and Servant ; which his Majesty of his great Wisdom knew very well, when he told that House of Commons, which asked the Militia of him for some Weeks, that *he would not part with it for an Hour*. It was the Voice of a King, and a Christian, he spoke as it became God's Vicegerent and Lieutenant, who knew very well from whom he had his Sword, as well as his Scepter, and that he bore it not in vain, but was the Minister of God, a Revenger to execute Wrath upon him, or *them*, that do Evil.

Having now shewed, first that Sovereign Princes are God's Ministers and Vicegerents ; and secondly, that as such, they have and exercise the Supreme Power, and particularly that of the Sword ; I now proceed to make some practical Observations upon this Loyal Doctrine proper to this Meeting, and the Existence of these Times in which we live.

First then, We may observe what a groundless and blasphemous Doctrine it is to assert, as the Court-Popish Writers do, that the *Pope* hath all manner of Temporal, as well as Spiritual Power given him from God, and that he giveth the former to Emperors and Kings to use it under him ; but so, that as his Ministers and Vicegerents, they depend entirely upon him.

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This is the great *Palladium* of the Court of *Rome*, which hath murthered and deposed for many Sovereign Princes, and disposed of their Crowns and Dominions. This brought *Henry* the IV. Emperor of *Germany*, on a cold frosty Day, bare-foot and bare-headed to Pope *Hildebrand's* Palace; this brought the Emperor *Frederick* the First, to hold Pope *Adrian* the 4th's Stirrop; and this set the Foot of Pope *Alexander* the 3d. upon his Neck, when his Holiness blasphemously misapplied the Words of the *Psalmist*: *Thou shalt tread upon the Lion and Adder, the young Lion and Dragon thou shalt trample under Foot.*

It was upon this Account of the Pope's pretended Universal Sovereignty that King *John* surrendred this Kingdom to Pope *Innocent* III. that *Henry* II. submitted to the Lashes of the Monks of *Canterbury*, and that *Henry* IV. of *France*, was whipped in the Person of his Ambassador Cardinal *D'offat*, by the Pope and Cardinals at *Rome*.

To be short, This Doctrine makes all Princes the Pope's Vassals, and it ought not to be endured by any Loyal Christian Subject, as being so unreasonable in it self, so destructive to the Rights and Dignity of Sovereign Princes, and so contrary to the Word of God. Our Ancestors themselves were never able to bear it as * appears from the Resolve of the Lords and

* *Coke's Instit.* Part 4. p. 13, 14.

Commons in Parliament, in the Fortieth Year of *Edward III.* who when the Pope by his Ambassador demanded Homage of the King for his two Kingdoms, answered, that *King John* (upon whose Surrender the Pope grounded his Claim) *could not put his Realm in any such Subjection without his Peoples Consent, that it was against his Coronation Oath, and that for themselves they could not assent to any thing in Parliament, that tended to the Disinherison of the King and his Crown, and that if the Pope attempted any Thing of that Nature, they would resist him with all their Force.*

And in the Statute of *Præmunire*, wherein as I have shew'd, the Three Estates of this Realm acknowledged the King to be immediately subject to God, they also promised and bound themselves to defend the King's Crown and Regality against the Papal Jurisdiction, and to live and die with the same.

And in the 35 *Hen. VIII.* II. the first Oath of Supremacy, which acknowledges the King Supreme Head upon Earth under God, was also formed against the Papal Jurisdiction; which made Archbishop *Cranmer*, in Queen *Mary's* Days, refuse to answer the Bishop of *Glocester*, who sat in Judgment upon him by Commission from *Rome*; for which refusal he apologized in a Letter to the Queen, urging his Oath of Allegiance to the contrary, and telling her Majesty, *That it could not but grieve the Heart of any natural Subject to be accused, as he was, of*
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his own Sovereign within her own Realm, before an outward Judge.

But in the *Second Place*, we may observe what an absurd Doctrine it is, and how disagreeable to Christian Divinity, to assert, that the Sovereign Power is radically and originally seated in the People, and derived from them upon the Prince. I deny not, but that God by his Providence may invest the Sovereign Power in the Body of the People, as formerly in *Athens*, and now in the Cantons of *Switzerland*, and that, as formerly in *Sparta*, they may commit the Exercise of it unto a single Person under the Character of King; but then such Kings are only equivocal Kings, Kings in Name, but in Reality Subjects, and have the People for their Sovereign Lord, who in these unhappy Governments, as *Themistocles* calls them in his Epistles, are indeed the Ministers of God, and ought to be obey'd, not only for Wrath, but also for Conscience-sake.

But the Opinion that I am speaking against is this, That the People are the Fountain and Foundation of all Power and Dominion, which is understood to be derived from them, even upon those whom Custom calls Sovereign Princes, who are but their *Trustees*, or *fiduciary Ministers*; with whom they have at least a *virtual* contract, and if they do not perform their Trust by not using their Power to the Ends for which they received it, or abuse it to contrary Ends, then they forfeit the Power and Authority

Authority with which they were entrusted by them, and ought to be answerable for their Defaults.

I am confident this Doctrine cannot be strange to any Man that hath cast his Eyes never so little upon the seditious Pamphlets of these, or the late Times. It is expressed, or implied, taught, or insinuated in most of them, which infect the unwary, the unthinking Vulgar with this Popish Principle of Rebellion, before they are aware. I call it a Popish Principle, because the Papists, of all Christians, first taught it, to arm the Subjects at their Pleasure against their Sovereign, and by that Means to revenge themselves upon the Princes that would not submit unto the *Pope*. And indeed there never was any Doctrine better fitted and invented to destroy Monarchies, than this is; for as the unchristian Opinion, that Episcopacy is an Usurpation over the Church, makes many People sit so uneasy and discontented under the Episcopal Jurisdiction, and hate Bishops: So this unchristian Doctrine, which makes Sovereign and independent Princes Usurpers over the Peoples Liberties, must also make all People that believe it, uneasy and discontented under Monarchical Government, and secretly disaffected to the Princes, in whose Realms they live.

This we find by Experience in this Kingdom, where this most unscriptural and absurd Doctrine is taught; unscriptural I call it, because

cause it is so contrary to the Scriptures of the *Old and New Testament*, which assert such wicked Princes as *Tiberius*, *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Claudius* and *Nero*, to be the Ministers of God, and command Allegiance both in Subjection and Non-Resistance unto them upon that Account.

And as it is most contrary to the Scriptures, and the whole Strain of Primitive Christian Writers; so is it in it self chargeable with many Absurdities and Difficulties, which the Maintainers thereof cannot answer: For first, If the Sovereign Power be radically and fundamentally seated in the People, then there is but one sort of Sovereign Government in the World, *viz. Democracy*, and by Consequence all other Sovereigns, whether Senates or Princes, are Usurpers, and ought to be reduced or deposed. *Secondly*, They cannot tell us upon this Hypothesis, whether the Supreme Power belongs to all the People promiscuously, that have the use of Reason, without any regard to Sex or Condition, or only to qualified Persons, to Men only, and Men of such a Condition and Sort. If Men only have a Share and Interest in the Supreme Power, by whose Order and Authority, or by what Salique Law of Nature were Women excluded from it, who are as useful Members of the Commonwealth, and as necessary for humane Societies as the Men are? Who gave the Men Authority to deprive them of their Birth-right, and set

them

them aside as unfit to meddle with Government ; when Histories teach us that they have wielded Sceptres, as well as Men, and Experience shews, that there is no natural Difference between their Understandings and ours, nor any Defects in their Knowledge of Things, but what Education makes ?

But admitting that the Sovereign Power is only in the Men, then they are as hard puzzled to tell us, whether it be in all the Men that have the use of Reason promiscuously, or only in qualified Persons of such an Age, Estate, or Condition. If all, then young and old, Masters and Servants, Fathers and Children, Poor and Rich must have an equal Share and Suffrage in the Government, which would make an intolerable Confusion ; but if they say some, and once set Limitations, then they can never tell by what Order, or Authority those without the Limits, which must be the more numerous Part of the People, are shut out from the Government, and from the concerns of the Commonwealth, of which they are the greatest Part.

But lastly, Let us suppose, as most of these Commonwealths men do, that the Wife is included with her Husband, the Child with the Parent, and the Servant with the Master, yet what Provision is hereby made for all emancipated Persons, such I mean, as have neither Husbands, Parents, nor Masters, must they come in for a Share of the Government, or

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not? Or must only Masters of Families have the whole Management, and if they must, must the Poor and Rich, those that have Estates, and those that have none, have an equal Share and Interest in it? or if they must not, whence arises the Inequality, or who is it that hath Authority to give some more Power, and some less?

Or if you will suppose a great Number of People not yet under any Contract or regular Association, who can have Power to convene them together, to appoint Times or Places for meeting to preside in their Assemblies, to determine arising Doubts, to draw up Articles of Agreement, form the Scheme of the future Government, compute Voices, and the like? And then in their Assemblies, will the Supreme Power rest in the major, or in the wiser or better Part? And shall their Acts conclude those that could not, or would not come? When you have well considered all these difficult and perplexed Points, which attend this Hypothesis of placing all Power in the People, you will easily perceive the Excellency of the Scriptural Hypothesis above it. It is free from all the forementioned Difficulties and Absurdities; it is more agreeable to the Original of Mankind from one single created Father; it leaves not so many Pretences for Sedition and Rebellion; it lays the highest Obligations that can be upon the Conscience of the Sovereign to rule well: In a Word, It is not only the most religious,

religious, but the most rational, easie, and compleat Account of Government, to say, that Sovereign States and Princes, are God's Ministers and not the Peoples, that they derive their Power from Heaven, and not from Men; and particularly, that they have the Power of the sword, not by Donation from the People, but by the Ordinance of God.

But in the *third* Place, From this Apostolical Doctrine about the Power and Authority of Sovereign Princes and States, you may perceive what a great Sin it is for the Subjects of any Government upon any Pretence whatsoever, to take up Arms without Authority from the lawful Sovereign, be it in Riots, Tumults, or Rebellions, or any other illegal Meetings howsoever called; for God hath committed the Power of the Sword to the lawful Sovereign onely, and whosoever takes it, and useth it without his Authority, much more against it, usurpeth the chief Part of the supreme Authority, and is left by our blessed Saviour to be punished for his Usurpation by the Sovereign's Sword: *Put up thy Sword again* saith he unto Saint Peter, who drew it to defend his Master against the Officers of the persecuting Sanhedrim;) *for all that take the sword, shall perish by the Sword*; and to this purpose, and almost in the same Words, saith John, by way of Precaution to the suffering Christians: *He that killeth with the sword, must be killed with the Sword, here is*

the Faith and Patience of the Saints. And accordingly the Apostle tells the Christian Subjects of that Monster *Nero*, that the Powers that then were, were ordained of God, and that they, who resisted the Power, resisted the Ordinance of God, and should receive Damnation or Condemnation to themselves.

To bear the Sword, or have the Supreme Disposition of the Sword, is one of the *jure Majestatis*, or essential Rights of Sovereignty which belongs to the Sovereign by the *Imperial Laws* of all Governments, and by the same Imperial Laws is it made capital to take it up against the Sovereign; and our Saviour, who came to destroy no Man's Civil Rights, but to confirm them, was in the first Place tender of the Sovereign's Rights, and of the Laws, by which they are established, and confirmed them both: *Render unto Cæsar* (saith he) *the Things that are Cæsar's*, and one part of Cæsar's Prerogative, as a Sovereign Prince, and indeed the Foundation of all the rest, was to be accountable to no Earthly Power, nor liable to any Coercion, or Force; for were there any other Power to which he was accountable, which had a right to resist him by Violence or Force of Armour, that Power would be Cæsar or Sovereign, and not he.

Wherefore had our Saviour given a Power to Christian Subjects upon the account of Religion, or any other account whatsoever, to take up Arms against their Sovereign, he had set

one Sovereign, and one Sword against another, in every Government ; and so had not come as he said, *to save Mens Lives, but to destroy them*, and as he spoke in another sense, *not to send Peace upon the Earth, but a Sword.*

But instead of that, as I said before, he hath confirmed the Rights of Sovereignty, and the Imperial Laws of every Sovereign Government, which make it capital to resist the Sovereign ; and it is by these Laws, which I may call the first Table of every Government, and by the Gospel, which confirms them, that *Passive Obedience*, or *Non-Resistance* becomes the double Duty of Christian Subjects, who cannot take up the Sword against their Sovereign, without resisting God, whose Minister he is, and making themselves justly liable to the stroke of that Sword which God hath put in his Hand.

For God, to whom Vengeance, or Punishment belongeth, hath made him a Revenger to execute Wrath upon his Subjects that do Evil, but he hath not made *them* Revengers to execute Wrath upon *him*. Had he done so, he had set up two instead of one Sovereign in every Government ; but on the contrary, as his Wisdom and Honour obliged him, he hath reserved wicked Princes, and Tyrants, for his own Punishment, and hath allowed their Subjects no Arms against them, but the Arms of the Catholick and Apostolical Church, even the Primitive *Artillery of Prayers and Tears.*

Perhaps this may seem a very harsh Doctrine to some inconsiderate People at first hearing; but if they well consider that the Resistance of the Subjects brings greater Evils upon the Publick, than the Tyranny of the most wicked Sovereign, they will find, that the Doctrine of *Passive-Obedience* is founded in the highest Reason, and that we are bound to praise the Wisdom and Goodness of God, who hath forbidden us a Remedy, which is infinitely worse than the Disease. I need not send you far off to prove what I say, for in this little Island since the beginning of the Reformation, there hath been perhaps as much Christian Blood shed in *pretended defensive Wars*, by the Anti-Episcopal Reformers, as in the first Ten famous Persecutions throughout the *Roman Empire*; and more Men slain in the least set Battle of the late Rebellion, which was also called a *Defensive War*, than by the Tyranny of all the Kings of this Nation since the Crown was set upon the Conqueror's Head.

But in the *fourth* Place, To pass over many other useful Observations, as what a strong Obligation this Doctrine lays upon the Conferences of all Christian States and Princes, and how unjustly the faithful Ministers of the Church are hated and aspersed for Preaching of it up, as if they designed to flatter the Prince into a Tyrant, and enslave the People. I say, to pass over these Considerations, which would effectually vindicate the Church and

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Clergy of *England*, and discover the Malice of their factious Enemies, we may see how much it is the special Duty of all inferiour Magistrates, whether Civil or Military, to take care that they employ not their Power, which they have from their Sovereign, against him, or do any thing that may make his just Government uneasie upon his Shoulders; much less that may tend to the Disinheriton of his Crown, the Destruction of his Regality, or the Diminution of his legal Authority and Power.

I make this Observation, because it hath been, and I am afraid still is, a Principle among our new Reformers, that the inferior Magistrates have their Power immediately from God, though they are chosen unto it by the Prince, and are God's Trustees to see that he doth his Duty, and that if he will not, they may compel him, and reform without him, and raise Forces to resist his unjust Force. But as this Opinion is utterly against Scripture, the Histories of all Times, and the Practice of all civil Governments, wherein all *Inferior* Magistrates have their Commissions from the *Supreme*: So is it utterly against Reason, for then instead of one, we should have many Sovereigns in every Government, Power against Power, and Sword against Sword; and if there be any Man here so absurd, that is not convinced of the Danger and Absurdity of it at first hearing, I desire him to admit this Hypothesis

but for one Year into his own Family : Let him suppose, that his Steward, or chief Servant hath his Steward's Authority immediately from God, and is God's Trustee to see that he doth his Duty, and that when he will not, he may force him, and reform his Family without his consent ; but if he abhor this as an absurd and impious Proposal, and as utterly inconsistent with the just Exercise of the Paternal Authority in Families, it is every whit as bad in Sovereign States and Kingdoms, and in a short time would make the Supreme, the Subordinate Magistrate's Slave.

I have also made this Observation, because many Inferior Powers and Magistrates have formerly, and I wish I could not say of late, done very much harm to the Crown, and given very ill example to the common People of this Kingdom by their Undutiful and Disloyal Actions. Were it needful, I could prove this Charge by a Volume of Examples out of the Histories of the late Times, to which I refer you ; and heartily wish for the Honour of God, and the Protestant Religion, that our present Sovereign, and God's Vicegerent, to whose Goodness so many ungrateful Men owe their Honours and Estates, and some incurable Traitors their Honours and Lives, had not of late been treated by some inferior Powers and Potentates, more like a publick Enemy than a Prince.

But

But in the *fifth* Place, If God hath put the Sword in the Sovereign's Hand, we may all learn how Necessary and Honourable the Profession of a Soldier is, who beareth not the Sword in vain, but to fight the Lord's Battels in Defence of his Vicegerent, and to be a Revenger to execute Wrath upon them that do Evil. Every lawful Soldier, whether common or Commander, is God's Soldier, and what *Jehosaphat* said unto his Judges, *2 Chron. 19.* may with a little Alteration, be said by the King to his *Militia*, or Army, *Let the fear of God be upon you, and take heed what you do, for the Judgments which you execute are God's Judgments, and you fight not for Man but for the Lord.*

I have made this Observation because we have at least one Sect among us, who say, that it is unlawful for a Christian to bear Arms, and serve in the Wars under his lawful Prince. But this is just such another absurd Opinion, as that of the same Men, who say it is unlawful to take an Oath before the lawful Magistrate, when we are required to swear. I profess, I wonder what can be the ground of such an absurd Opinion, and how the *Socinians*, who pretend to be Masters of Reason, can teach such an unreasonable thing. It is a perfect Contradiction to the Doctrine of the Apostle, who here teacheth us, that the Sovereign beareth the Sword, as he is God's Minister, and that he beareth it not in vain, but to be a Revenger
to

to execute Wrath upon him that doth Evil; and if he bear the Sword by God's Appointment, and for so great an End it must needs be lawful, and laudable to bear it under him, just as because he is the supreme Minister of Justice, some must needs serve under him in the Administration and Execution of Justice, and those who do so, are to be honoured in their several Places upon the Account of that civil Authority which they derive from him. The Sovereign is the Fountain both of Civil and Military Authority, both are equally from God, and necessary for the support of Government, and therefore I confess, I cannot understand, why it should be more unlawful for a Christian to buckle on the Sword at the Command of his Prince, than to put on a Gown.

But Secondly, I have made this Observation to let our Seditious People see how little like Christians they demean themselves, in railing, as they have always done, at the *King's* Guards, and of late at the *Loyal Militia* of this City, calling them, as they did not many Days ago, my Lord Mayor's *Janizaries*, my Lord Mayor's *Army*, and as they think very wittily, my Lord Mayor's *Guards*. These People are themselves an Argument to prove, how necessary the Sword is for the Quiet and Welfare of Government, according to the *Motto* of your Shield, *Arma pacis fulcra*, that *Arms are the cause of Peace*. They shew us what we must expect from them were it not for the Sword; and

and God be praised, that both the King, and the Lord Mayor have their Guards to defend them, otherwise, I fear, the Spirit of *Corah*, which reigns still in these Men, would soon push them on to pull his Lordship out of his Chair, and His Majesty out of the Throne.

But in the last Place, *if* God hath put the Sword into the Sovereign's Hand, and the *Military*, as well, as the *Civil* Power be derived from him, you may see how Honourable a Science the Science of Arms is, and how Useful, and Profitable to all Governments Schools of Arms are, wherein Men disposed for Martial Employments may learn the Military Discipline, and how to be Expert *in Feats of Arms*. Such Honourable Societies are His Majesties Nurseries for the Militia, as the Inns of Court are for the Law, and the two Universities for the Church; and as it is to be wished, and endeavoured, that no Persons be bred in either of the former, who would employ their Tongues, and Pens against God's Servant and their Sovereign: So is it to be wished, and all possible Endeavours ought to be used by you, who are Members of this Honourable Company, that none be admitted into it, at least into the Government of it, who will likely so Mis-employ their Swords.

You are the *Chef d'ordre*, the Chief Academy of this Kind in His Majesties Dominions; and as you are the most Illustrious for the Number, and Quality of your Members, so may you

you ever be the most Exemplary for Christian Loyalty ; and imitable Patterns for all His Majesties Subjects of that Faith, and Allegiance, which is due unto him by the Law of * Nature, as well as the Municipal Laws of this Land.

May you all (according to the ancient Oath of Allegiance wont to be administred in Courts of † Lect) *Be Faithful and Loyal to our Sovereign Lord the King, and his Heirs, and bear them Faith, and Fealty of Life, Limb, and terrene Honour, and never do them Hurt, or Damage, but defend them to your Power.* But if notwithstanding your Care, and Endeavours to the contrary, any dis-affected Persons have, or may hereafter creep in among you, let their Right-Hands forget their Cunning, and cease to be dextrous in handling the Sword.

Let them never be able to stretch forth Hand or Sword against the Lord's Anointed ; or if they do, let them prosper according to the Presage of our Blessed, and Obedient Saviour, who said, *He that taketh up the Sword (that is without, or against Authority) shall perish by the Sword.* Let their Calamity, as Solomon saith, *rise suddenly : Let swift Destruction, as David pray'd against his Enemies, come upon them unawares ; let them be as the Chaff before the Wind, and the Angel of the Lord scattering*

* Cokes Calvin's Case.

† Britton. c. 29.

them: Let all this come upon them as upon *Absolom*, *Brutus*, *Cassius*, &c. and I hope there is none so disloyal in this Audience, at least in this Honourable Company, that will not heartily say *Amen*.

There are other excellent Uses to be made of this Doctrine, especially against the unchristian Practices of those Men, who not having the Fear of the King of Kings before their Eyes, love to speak and do every thing, as far as safely they may against the Honour of his Vice-gerent; slandering his Person and Government, belying or mis-construing his best Proceedings, blaming, or Censuring his most Innocent Actions, delighting in his Misfortunes, Triumphant in his Wants, Aggravating his Infirmities, Dispersing Stories and Rumours to his Prejudice, and loving to do every Thing that tends to weaken his Authority, and withdraw the Hearts of his People from him, and render him Odious, and Contemptible in their Eyes.

If you ask these Men with what Conscience they can thus treat their Sovereign, they will tell you, they do nothing but what they can Justifie by *Law*; as if the Laws of the Land, and not the Laws of the Gospel were the compleat, and adequate Rule of Christian Duty, Subjection, and Obedience: Or, as if Men were to be Try'd at the last Judgment by those, and not by these.

But

But alas, the Man of God, as the Apostle calls a Christian, cannot be made Perfect in any one Duty by the Laws, nor furnished by them unto every good Work, but quite contrary, the Laws of the Realm will allow us to do many grievous Things against Father, Mother, Wife, Children, or any other Sort of Relations, or Neighbours, for which, without Repentance, we shall be surely Damned. Wherefore as the Laws of the Land are not the Measure of our Duty to our Parents, &c. so neither are they the perfect Rule of our Duty to our Prince, as it is plain from the Verse after my Text, where the Apostle having told the *Romans*, that the Emperor was the Minister of God, he then adds, *Wherefore you must needs be subject, not only for Wrath, or fear of Legal Punishment, but also for Conscience-sake.*

To conclude all ; these Disloyal Men, with which these Kingdoms so abound, Act more like *Greeks* than Christians, and as if they had been bred at *Athens*, and *Sparta*, rather than in the School of Christ : Otherwise they would be better Affected towards God's Anointed ; they would pray more for him, and Murmur, and Clamour less against him, as knowing, that God giveth us what Kings soever he pleaseth, and that the King's Heart is in the Hand of the Lord, and that he turneth it whithersoever he will. He is King of Kings, Lord of Lords,

Lords, and the only Ruler of Princes. He is the Fountain of Sovereign Power, every King is his Vice-gerent, and every Kingdom a Theocracy, and therefore let us bless the Lord before all the Congregation, and say, in the Words of *David*, 1 *Chron.* 29. *Thine, O Lord, is the Greatness, and the Power, and the Glory, and the Victory, and the Majesty : For all that is in the Heaven, and in the Earth is thine ; thine is the Kingdom, O Lord, and thou art exalted, as Head above all.* Which in other Words is the very Doctrine of the Apostle, who saith, *That there is no Power, but of God, and that he beareth not the Sword in Vain, because he is the Minister of God, To whom, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, be ascribed, &c.*

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P R E A C H E D

At the Church of *St. Bridget*, on *Easter-Tuesday*, being the 1st of *April*, 1684.

Before the Right Honourable

Sir *HENRY TULSE*,
L O R D - M A Y O R
of L O N D O N,

And the Honourable COURT of

A L D E R M E N :

Together with the

Governors of the Hospitals,

U P O N

The Subject of *Alms-giving.*

By GEORGE HICKES, D. D. Dean of *Worcester*, and Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty.

The Second Edition.

L O N D O N,

Printed for JOHN CHURCHILL, at the *Black Swan* in *Pater-Noster-Row*, 1713.

TULSE, MAYOR,

Curia Special. tent. die Mercurii in Hebdomad. Festi Pasch. secund. April. 1684, Annoq; Reg. Regis Caroli Secundi, Angliæ, Sc. xxxvi.

THis Court doth desire Dr. *Hickes*, Dean of *Worcester*, to Print his Sermon, Preached in *St. Brides Church* on *Tuesday* last before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of this City.



WAGSTAFFE.

To the Right Honourable
Sir *HENRY TULSE*,
Lord Mayor of *London*,

And to the
Honourable Court of Aldermen.

My Lord,

I Here present your Lordship with my
Sermon ; which you heard with so
much Candour, and must profess my
self glad of this Opportunity to testifie the
Respects, which I have for your self, and
the Honourable Court of Aldermen, among
whom there is not one Man, who hath
not signalized his Loyalty in the late distin-
guishing Times ; when the Common-
wealth Party struggling for Empire with
the Monarchy, engaged all Loyal Men to
show themselves to be so ; and among those
Z 2 great,

The DEDICATION.

great, and publick Spirits, who durst stand up for the Government, when a powerful and daring Faction durst oppose it, your Lordship was one of the most Eminent, for which His Majesty, willing to declare His Royal Esteem for you, hath committed unto your Administration the Government of this City, which is virtually the Government of the whole Kingdom; because, as London is well, or ill Governed, so will all the Country be.

If the Governours of the City beat down Schism, and Faction, and keep the Citizens in Peace, and Order, the Magistrates of all other Towns will be able and willing to do the same; but if at any Time they openly Countenance Faction and Schismatical Spirits, or underhand connive at them, Faction and Schism, will presently grow too strong for the Magistrates in the Country Towns. This, my Lord, hath been found true, by the Experience of many Years, insomuch that the Lord Mayor, and Aldermen of London, are in effect the Governours

The DEDICATION

of all other Cities, and Corporations, who will obey, or disobey their Magistrates in the same Measure and Proportion, as you will let the Citizens obey, or disobey you.

The King therefore, my Lord, hath done you a very signal Honour, in committing so comprehensive a Trust unto you, the good, or ill Management whereof will make him easie, or uneasie in his Government, and the Nation happy, or unhappy; and as you, and your Loyal Brethren of the Bench, have in all Things acted suitably to the Greatness of this Trust, which his Majesty reposes in you: So, it is my hearty Prayer, among other Loyal Subjects, to God, that this City may never want such a Lord Mayor, and such a Court of Aldermen, all of one Principle of Loyalty, and all hearty Lovers of their King, and the Church.

We already feel the happy Effects of having such Loyal Governours over us, and if God in Mercy please to continue the Blessing unto us, we shall within a few Years see such happy Days, as our Ance-

THE DEDICATION.

stors did, before the deceivable Multitude
were led into the Gain-saying of Corah,
and taught to set up private Temples, and
private Altars, in Opposition to the Church.
God grant that we may so walk, as to de-
serve the Continuance of such a Blessing,
which is the daily Prayer of

Your Lordships,

Most Obedient Servant,

GEORGE HICKES.

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Hebr. XIII. 16.

But to do good, and to communicate, forget not, for with such Sacrifices God is well pleased.

TH E Primitive Christians, living in a State of Persecution, had no other Way to relieve their poor Brethren, but by transient Beneficence and Contributions, not daring as yet to found Hospitals, or erect Banks of standing, and publick Charity for them, lest they should be seized, or escheat to the higher Powers, if they came to be discovered; and this is the true Reason, why at first they had all Things in common, and why, all along the New Testament, and much longer, we never read of Building, or Endowing Houses of Charity, but only of Collections, and Contributions: So that if a Man had a Mind to trifle, as the Congregational Writers do in arguing against National Churches, we might ask you, "Where are Hospitals commanded in the Scriptures? Shew us an Example of any one Man in the new Testament, that builded an Hospital, a School, or a College? No! these are but Human Inventions, mere Ostentations of Charity, and Devices of Satan to make Men trust in good Works. But the Gospel way

Z 4

“ Way of Supplying the Wants of the Poor,
 “ which is of God’s own Institution, is by
 “ giving, distributing, and making Collections,
 “ as it is * written ; *Now as concerning the Col-
 lection for the Saints, do ye, as I have given Or-
 der, to the Churches of Galatia, let every one of
 you, the first Day of the Week, at the publick
 Assembly lay by something in store for the Col-
 lection, as God hath prospered him, that there
 be no need of gathering, when I come, and then
 I will send your Liberality to Jerusalem, by
 whomsoever you shall approve.* So saith the Apo-
 stle to Timothy, † Charge those who are Rich,
 that they be ready to give, and glad to distribute ;
 And in my Text, to do good, and communicate,
 forget not, for with such Sacrifices God is well
 pleased.

This indeed was the Primitive, and only
 Way of Charity, while the Church was in the
 Wilderness ; but when, after many Suffer-
 ings and much Passive Obedience, she was set-
 tled, as it were, in the Holy Land, under the
 Protection of Christian Emperors and Kings,
 she then let her Light shine before Men in
 standing and visible Works of Charity ; pro-
 ceeding to erect Buildings of publick Use, and
 for the publick Benefit ; insomuch that Julian,
 the Apostate Emperor, exhorted his Pagan
 Subjects, in Imitation of the Christians, to

* 1 Cor. 16. 1, 2. † 1 Tim. 6. 17.

build * Hospitals and Schools, and Houses for Reception of indigent Travellers, together with Monasteries for contemplative and religious Persons of both Sexes, thinking that the doing of these good Works would bring *Paganism* into as much Credit among the Christians, as it had done Christianity among the Pagans. † *Appoint* (saith he unto *Arcaſius* Chief Priest of *Galatia*) *Hospitals for poor Travellers in every City, for it is a great Dishonour to us, that when none of the Jews go about begging, and the impious Galileans maintain not only their own, but ours too, our Poor should only be neglected, and left naked, and helpless by us.*

So advantageous, even by the Confession of its most malicious Enemy, were standing and conspicuous Works of Charity to the Growth, and Advancement of the Christian Religion; and therefore taking this, and all other Scripture Exhortations unto Christian Beneficence and Liberality, to extend to standing and permanent, as well as transient good Works, I shall discourse upon the Words in the following Method.

First, *I will shew, that doing of Alms-deeds is a Duty incumbent upon all Men, who are able*

* Φροντισθείς τὸ ἀνδρῶν, καὶ γυναικῶν φιλοσοφῆν ἐγνωνότων καὶ καταγωγῶν ξένων καὶ πτωχῶν, καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ πρὸς τοιούτους φιλανθρωπία τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν δόγμα σεμνύναι. Sozomen. lib. 5. cap. 16. Nazianzen. 1. Inveſt. p. 102. Edit. Paris. 1630.

† Ep. 49.

to do them, and that we are most earnestly exhorted unto it by God in his Holy Word.

Secondly, *That the Performance of this Duty is highly pleasing, and acceptable unto God, and very beneficial unto Men.*

Thirdly, *That the charitable Man, who performeth this Duty, shall notwithstanding have enough, and that his Charity shall never bring Him or his Children into want.*

Lastly, *I shall make a brief Exhortation to the Performance of this Duty, and so conclude.*

I. First, I will shew, that doing of Almsdeeds is a Duty incumbent upon all Men, who are able to do them, as Heathen Writers universally acknowledge, the *Latins* in calling Charity *Humanity*, and the *Greeks* *Philanthropy*, or the Love of Men. For every Man, as * *Julian* observes upon this Subject, *καὶ ἐκὼν καὶ ἄκων*, whether he will or no, is a Kin to all Mankind. For (saith he) whether we are all descended of one Man, or one Woman; as some (meaning the *Jews* and *Christians*) say; or whether the Gods Created many Men and Women together, in the Beginning of the World; or whether they produced them any other Way; it is certain, we all partake of the same common Nature, and derive our Original from the Gods, and therefore have one common Tye of Nature to be kind to one another, and Religious towards the Gods.

* *Julian. imp. fragm.*

And truly, as there is something in Human Nature, which prompts Men to be Religious : So, there is something in it likewise, that prompts them to be Charitable, and I think the Difference of Men from Beasts, and the Excellency of our Nature above theirs, appears, in nothing so much, as in these two Inclinations of being Religious towards God, and Kindly-affected towards Men.

For every Man is of the Blood of every other, we have all one common Alliance, not only in the Participation of the same common Nature, as the *Grecizing* Apostate observes, but in the Derivation of it from the same common Parents, and by his Favour, it makes every Man more willing to acknowledge another for his Brother, and perform the Offices of Humanity more indifferently towards all Men, when he shall consider, that all Mankind were once equal in the Loins of *Adam*, and that, as *St. Paul* taught the *Athenians*, *God, who made the World, made of one Blood all Nations of Men.*

This Consideration, that all Men have the same common Nature, and Parentage, and have derived it in all Countries from the same common Stock, founds the first Obligation to Charity or Humanity ; and upon this Account only, the Moralists assert Man to be, * ζῷον φύ- σσει κοινωνικόν, a Creature communicative by Na-

* Julian. in fragm.

ture, and call want of Charity by the reproachful Name of *Inhumanity*, as being a Vice which turns a Man, like *Nebuchadnezzar*, into a Beast.

The Holy Scripture also lays the first Foundation of Charity in the Community of humane Nature, every Man being bound to relieve the Necessities of another, as he is a Brother of the same Nature and Parentage with himself. Thus saith the Prophet *Isaiah*, *Is not this the Fast, which I have chosen, to deal thy Bread to the Hungry, to bring the Poor, that are cast out, to thy House, to cover the Naked when thou seest him, and that thou hide not thy self from thy OWN FLESH.*

According to this general Obligation to Humanity upon the Account of humane Nature, our Blessed Lord, in the Parable of the Man who fell among Thieves, enlarged the Signification of the Word *Neighbour* to take in all Mankind; and in this general Evangelical Sense of it, the Apostle said unto the *Corinthians*, *Love worketh no Ill to his Neighbour, therefore Love is the fulfilling of the Law.* And, *Owe no Man any Thing, but the Debt of mutual Love*, which can never be paid, for *Love is the fulfilling of the Law.* And in another Place he saith, *As we have Opportunity let us do good unto all Men, even unto our Enemies*, as is written in *Exod. 23.* *If thou meet thine Enemies Ox or Ass going astray, thou shalt surely bring him back to him again, and if thou see the Ass of him that*
hateth

hateth thee, lying under his Burden, thou shalt leave thy Business, and come and help him. For the Common Duties of Humanity cannot be cancelled by the greatest Injuries and Hostilities, but when my Enemy is in Want and Misery, I must remember, that he is my Brother, and, upon the account of common Kindred and Relation, fulfil the Precept of our Saviour, who said, *Love your Enemies, and do good to them that hate you*; and of the Apostle, who Paraphrased that Precept of his Lord in these Words, *If thine Enemy hunger, feed him; and if he thirst, give him Drink, for in so doing, thou shalt heap Coals of fire upon his Head.*

So saith * Julian, like a true Plagiary, concealing from whence he had his lovely Notions upon this Subject, *We ought to be beneficent to all Men, and tho' more especially to the Good, yet we must relieve the Necessities of all indigent Persons whatsoever*; nay, I will say one thing more, which will seem a Paradox to you, that it is a very Holy Thing, and pleasing to the Gods, to clothe your naked and feed your hungry Enemies; nay, Humanity will not let us forget the wicked Malefactors in Prison; because, in these Cases, we give our Charity to the Men, and not to their evil Manners and Sins.

So great a Duty is incumbent on us, on the common Account of our Nature and Original, so that what the Apostle said of the Duty of

* *Frægm.*

Husbands to their Wives, may be said with little Variation upon the Subject of Charity: *So ought Men to love the Poor, as their own Bodies, he that loveth the Poor, loveth himself, and no Man ever yet hated his own Flesh, but nourisheth and cherisheth it*; and therefore the Rich ought to nourish and cherish the Poor, as their Brethren, as Flesh of their Flesh, and Bone of their Bone.

But besides this Obligation to the Duty of Almsgiving, upon the common Score of our Nature and Original, there is another, resulting from this Consideration, that the Poor are Members in all Places of the same Societies with the Rich. For the Rich are represented in the Prophetical Writings by *Mountains*, and the Poor and Indigent by *Valleys*; and, as Philosophers observe, that Mountains can neither be, nor be conceived without Valleys: So the Rich in this World can neither be, nor be conceived without the Poor. For *Rich* and *Poor* are Relative Terms, and no Man is properly either, but in Comparison to another, to whom he is unequal in Estate. For if all Men were equal in their Estates, there would be neither Poverty, nor Riches, but one uniform State of Temporal Things in all Places; just as if the Valleys were raised as high as the Hills, or the Hills levelled with the Valleys, there would be nothing, but one uniform Plain all over the World.

But

But this Civil Equality is morally impossible, because no Common-weal, little or great, can subsist without Poor. They are necessary for the Establishment of Superiority, and Subjection in Humane Societies, where there must be Members of Dishonour, as well as Honour, and some to serve and obey, as well as others to command. The Poor are the Hands and Feet of the Body Politick, the *Gibeonites* and *Nethinims* in all Countries, who hew the Wood, and draw the Water of the Rich. They Plow our Lands, and dig our Quarries, and cleanse our Streets, nay, those, who fight our Battles in the Defence of their Country, are the *poor Soldiers*, who, as the Legions of *Blæsus* once complained in a Mutiny, sell their Lives * for Seven Pence a Day. As there must be Rich to be, like the Centurion in the Gospel, in Authority; so there must be Poor, to whom they may say, *Go unto one, and he goeth, and to another, come, and he cometh*; but were all equally Rich, there could be no Subordination, none to Command, nor none to Serve. But in such a Case, the Body Politick must dissolve, as the Natural Body was like to do in the Fable of *Agrippa*, when the rest of the Members would work no longer for the Belly, which, they thought, did nothing at all.

* *Denis in diem assibus animam & corpus estimari.* Tacit. An. 1. c. 17.

Wherefore

Wherefore the Poor being as necessary for the Rich, as the Rich are for the Poor, the common Law of Equity, received among all Mankind, obligeth us to do unto them, as, if Fortune, or the Hand of Providence should turn the Wheel, we would have them do unto us. There could be nothing more unjust, nothing more against the Law, and the Prophets; nay nothing more Inhumane and Barbarous, than not to relieve their Necessities; and, as the Apostle speaks, *Let our Abundance be a Supply to their Wants*; for they are not only our Brethren, but our Fellow Members of the same Body Politick, and such ought to be the mutual Compassion of the Members, that, if one Member suffer, all the Members suffer with it. Wherefore, saith * God unto the Jews, *Thou shalt not harden thine Heart, nor shut thine Hand from thy poor Brother; thou shalt surely give unto him, and thine Heart shall not be grieved, when thou givest unto him; and for this Thing the Lord shall bless thee in all thy Works, and in all that thou puttest thine Hand unto, for the Poor shall never cease out of the Land, Therefore I command thee, saying, Thou shalt open thine Hand wide unto the poor and needy Brother in thy Land.*

This suggests unto me the Third Consideration, upon which it becomes the Duty of the Rich to be liberal to the Poor, out of Gratitude to God, who hath put the difference be-

* Deut. 15.

tween them, and as *Hannah* saith in *Samuel*, *hath made the Rich and the Poor. For as the Body is not all one Member, but many: So it is God, that hath set the Members,* (saith the Apostle) *every one of them in the Body, as it hath pleased him.* If thou art a Rich and Honourable Member, it is he, that made thee so; if thou hast much Treasure and large Possessions, they came by his special Blessing, who expects, that all and every Man, whom he hath made Rich, should make becoming Returns of their Thankfulness to him in their Gifts and Offerings to the Poor.

He is Lord *Paramount* of every Rich Man's Estate, and every Landed Man holds of him in *Chief*, as it is written, *The Earth is the Lord's, and the Fulness thereof, and the Cattel that are upon a Thousand Hills.* He hath made abundant Provision for all Men, but because it is not consistent with the Being, and Well-being of humane Politicks, that he should deal his Blessings to all alike, therefore his Wisdom obligeth him to distribute them in very different Proportions. Like the Noble Man in the Parable, to some he gives Ten, and to others five Times as much as he gives to another; but then to those, upon whom he bestows more than is sufficient, he gives it, not for their own sakes, but for the sake of the Poor, who ought to be maintained by them. As a Prince or Great Man, going into a far Country, puts his Purse into his Steward's Hands, not altogether for

his own sake, but because to do so is necessary for the good Government of his Family, that the rest, depending for their Maintenance upon him, might be more subject, and subservient to him. *But, and if that Steward shall say in his Heart, my Lord delayeth his coming, and will not give his Fellow Servants their Meat in due Season, the Lord of that Steward shall come in a Day, when he looketh not for him, and cut him asunder, because he was a Traytor to his Trust.*

In like manner the Rich are God's Stewards for the Poor, he lays up their Maintenance in their Treasuries, because he would have them depend upon them, and serve them; but then, as St. Paul said of Masters, *It is their Duty to give unto them that which is just and equal, as knowing that they have a Lord and Master in Heaven.* And as King Henry the Third did Enact, by the 4th. Chap. of the Statute of Merton, That the Peers and Great Men of this Land should allow their Inferior Tenants sufficient common Pasture for their use: So, God, the King of Kings, and Supreme Lord of all the Earth, hath Ordained, That the Great and Rich in all Places should provide, and allow what is sufficient for the Use and Maintenance of the Inferior and Poorer sort. Hence it comes to pass, that we meet with so many Admonitions and earnest Exhortations to this great Duty of Charity, in the Holy Scriptures, and other Moral Writings, as, not to repeat those

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I have already had occasion to mention, our Blessed Lord hath made universal Charity one of the greatest Duties of the Christian Religion, saying, *Give to every Man, that asketh of thee, and if you do good only to them, who do good unto you, what thank have you, for Sinners also do the same; and if you lend only to them, of whom you hope to receive, what thank have you, for Sinners also lend to Sinners to receive as much again; but love ye your Enemies, and do good to all, and lend to those from whom you can hope for nothing again. and be merciful, as your Heavenly Father is merciful, who is kind unto the unthankful, and maketh his Sun to rise on the Evil, and on the Good, and sendeth his Rain on the Just, and Unjust.*

Nay, he makes the best Improvement of Riches to consist in the Charitable Use of them in that Parabolical Saying, *Make ye Friends of the vain transitory Mammon, (for that is the meaning of the Place) that when you shall fail, they may receive you into Everlasting Habitations.* So Luke 12. 33. *Sell that you have, and give Alms, provide your self Bags, which wax not old, a Treasure in the Heavens, that faileth not, where no Thief approacheth, nor Moth corrupteth.* Nay, he hath so espoused the Cause of the Poor, as to declare, that what we do unto Them, he will take it as done unto his own Person, as it is written, *Verily I say unto you, in as much as ye did it unto one of these my hungry, sick, and naked Members, you did it unto me.*

Hence it comes to pass, that we read so much of Collections, and Ministering to the Saints, in the New Testament ; when the Rich Christians reserving to themselves only *Food and Rayment*, were *therewith Content*. Charity to Men was then the only Test of Love unto God, according to what St. *John* saith, *He that loveth not his Brother, whom he hath seen, how can he love God, whom he hath not seen ? And whosoever hath the Goods of this World, and shutteth up the Bowels of his Compassion from his Brother, whom he sees in need, how dwelleth the Love of God in him ?*

II. Having now shewed, that doing of Almsdeeds is a Duty incumbent upon all Men that have wherewith to do them, I proceed in the Second Place to shew, That the Performance of this Duty is highly acceptable unto God, and beneficial unto Men. The first is, the very Motive by which the Apostle exhorts us unto Beneficence in my Text, *To do good, and to communicate, forget not, for with such Sacrifices God is well pleased*. It is plain from hence, that God accepts of what we do for the Poor, as done unto Himself, and that our Alms under the Gospel have the Nature of Offerings and Sacrifices, with which God was pleased, and rendered propitious under the Law.

The Apostle expresses the acceptable Nature of Alms-giving yet more Emphatically in *Phil.* 4. 18. where he saith unto them, *I am full of*
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the good Things which I received from you by Epaphroditus, as an offering of a sweet smelling Odour, a Sacrifice acceptable, and pleasing unto God.

This Phrase of a sweet smelling Odour, is purely Sacrificial, and taken from the *Old Testament*, where God is said to have smelled in the Sacrifices, and to have smelled a sweet Saviour in the Offerings and Sacrifices, which he accepted, as in *Gen. 18. 21.* When *Noah* offered Burnt Offerings upon the Altar, which he builded, after he came out of the Ark, the Text saith, that *the Lord smelled a sweet Saviour.* And in *Eph. 5. 2.* the Apostle in Allusion to that Place, saith, that *Christ gave himself a Sacrifice, an Offering to God for a sweet smelling Saviour.*

I would not be so misunderstood by this Remark, as if I thought Almsgiving were an Offering of the same Nature and Value, as the Offering of Christ, far be that from me, but only to let you see, how highly acceptable it must needs be to God, when his Holy Spirit expresses the acceptable Nature of it, by the same Sacrificial Term, by which he sets forth the Acceptance of the Sacrifice of Christ. And as sweet Odours perfume other Things, and make them delightful to the Smell: So the sweet Odour of our Alms perfumes our very Prayers, and makes them more acceptable unto God. *Prayer* (saith the Angel unto *Tabias*) *is good with Alms, and it is better to*

give Alms than to lay up Gold ; and, saith the Angel unto Cornelius, who gave much Alms unto the People ; *Thy Prayers, and thine Alms are come up for a Memorial before God.* And from hence * St. Cyprian concludes, that our Prayers, whether in Deprecations or Petitions, are of little Force and Efficacy, without the joint Assistance of Alms.

I observed before, how our Lord looks upon doing of Alms, as done unto himself, and therefore since the doing of them is so very acceptable to God, and opens his Ears unto our Prayers, it must needs in the end redound very much to the Benefit and Advantage of Men.

Thus saith the Lord in *Deut. 15. Thou shalt surely give unto thy poor Brother, and let not thy Heart be grieved, when thou givest unto him, because that for this Thing the Lord shall bless thee in all thy Works, and in all that thou puttest thine Hand unto.* So saith the Prophet *Isaiah, If thou draw out thy Soul unto the hungry, and satisfy the afflicted Soul, then shall thy Light rise in Obscurity, and thy Darkness be as the Noon Day, and the Lord shall be thy Reward, and guide thee continually, and satisfy thy Soul in Drought, and make fat thy Bones, and thou shalt be like a watered Garden, and like a*

* Oſtendit Orationes noſtras, ac jejunia minus poſſe, niſi eleemoſynis adjuventur: deprecationes ſolas parum ad impetrandum valere, niſi factorum & operum acceſſione fulciantur: Revelat angelus, & manifeſtat, & firmat eleemoſynis Petitionis noſtras efficaces fieri. Cypr. de Opere & Eleemoſynis.

Spring whose Waters never fail. So saith the Psalmist, *Blessed is he that considereth the Poor, the Lord will deliver him in Time of Trouble.* And in the 37th Psalm, he confirms this Doctrine by the Observation and Experience of many Years. *I have been young (saith he) but now am old, yet I have never seen the Righteous, i. e. the Charitable, Man forsaken, nor his Seed begging Bread, he is ever merciful and lendeth, and his Posterity is blessed.* So Prov. 19. 17. *He that hath pity upon the Poor, lendeth unto the Lord, and that which he hath given will he pay him again.* And in the Third Chapter he saith, *Honour the Lord with thy Substance, and with the first Fruits of thine increase, so shall thy Barns be filled with Plenty, and thy Presses shall burst out with new Wine.*

To this purpose speaketh Tobit to his Son Tobias in the 4th, Chap. *Give Alms of thy Substance, and when thou givest Alms, let not thine Eye be envious, neither turn thy Face from the Poor, and the Face of God shall not be turned away from thee. If thou hast Abundance, give Alms accordingly, and if thou hast but a little, be not afraid to give of that little, for so shalt thou lay up a good Treasure for thy self against the Day of Necessity.* So saith our Blessed Lord, *Lay not up for your selves Treasures upon Earth, where Moth and Rust doth corrupt, and where Thieves break through and steal, but rather lay up for your selves Treasures in Heaven, where neither Moth nor Rust doth corrupt, nor can*

Thieves break through and steal. By laying up Treasures in Heaven, our Lord understands giving of Alms, as is plain from his Words to the young Man, in another Place of the same Gospel. *If thou wilt be perfect, go, and sell what thou hast, and give it to the Poor, and thou shalt have Treasure in Heaven.* In this very Sense it is, that the Son of Sirach speaketh, Eccles. 29. 11. *Lay up thy Treasure according to the Commandments of the most High, and it shall bring thee more profit than Gold; shut up thy Alms in thy Store-Houses, and it shall deliver thee from all Afflictions, it shall fight for thee against thy Enemies, better than a mighty Shield or strong Spear.* So saith the Apostle unto Timothy, *Charge them that are Rich in this World, that they trust not in uncertain Riches, but in the Living God, who giveth us all Things richly to enjoy, and that they do good, and be rich in good Works, ready to distribute, and willing to communicate, laying up in store for themselves a good Foundation against the Time to come, that they may lay hold on everlasting Life.*

From these Authorities it is plain, without any further Enumeration, how Beneficial the doing of Alms-Deeds is to Charitable Persons, both upon a Temporal and Spiritual Account; Charity, as the Apostle saith of Godliness, having the Promise of the Life that now is, and of that which is to come.

But furthermore, this Doctrine will appear, by the Rule of Contrary, from the severe Judgments,

ments, which are threatned to want of Charity, as *Prov. 28. 17. He that giveth unto the Poor, shall not lack, but he that hideth his Eyes, shall have many a Curse.* So *Chap. 21. 13. Whoso stoppeth his Ears at the Cry of the Poor, he also shall cry himself, and shall not be heard.* Which our Saviour inculcated to the Jews in the Parable of the unjust Steward, whom his Lord delivered in great Anger to the Tormentors, because he had not Compassion on his fellow Servants, as he had Pity on Him. To this Purpose also speaketh the Son of Sirach, *Reject not the Supplication of the afflicted, neither turn away thy Face from a poor Man, turn not away thine Eyes from the needy, and give him no Occasion to curse thee, for if he curse thee in the Bitterness of his Soul, his Prayers shall be heard of him, that made him. Be as a Father unto the Fatherless, and instead of an Husband unto their Mother, so shalt thou be as the Son of the most High, and he shall love thee more than thy Mother doth.*

These are great Advantages, which are said to come unto Men, as the Fruits of Charity, but there are greater Things said of it still. For the Scriptures, and other Writings of great Authority, and Reverence, speak of Charity, as if it were sufficient to cleanse the Soul, and make Atonement to God for our Sins. Thus our Lord told the *Pharisees*, who were offended at Him, and his Disciples for not washing before Dinner, that the Way to cleanse the

the Soul, was not to wash the Body, but to give Almes of such Things, as they had, and then all Things should be clean unto them. And Solomon saith Prov. 16. *That Iniquity is purged by Mercy, and Truth.* Accordingly we read Dan 4. v. 27. That he spoke unto the King thus: Wherefore O King, let my Counsel be acceptable unto thee, and break off thy Sins by Righteousness, i. e. by Kindness, and Charity, and thine Iniquity by shewing Mercy to the Poor, if it may be an healing of thy Error. To which agrees that of Tobit, Chap. 4. v. 10. Give Almes of thy Substance, because Almes deliver from Death, and suffereth not to come into Darkness. This is a mighty Virtue which is ascribed to Alms-doing, and mightily sets forth the Dignity and Worth thereof, especially if we attend to that Saying of Siracides, *Water will quench a flaming Fire, and Alms maketh an Atonement for Sin.* Which is very agreeable to a Place in Deut. where God saith, *thou shalt not sleep with the poor Mans Pledge, but thou shalt in any Case deliver it to him, when the Sun goeth down, that he may sleep in his own Rayment, and bless thee, and it shall be Righteousness unto thee before the Lord thy God.* According to this Doctrine * St. Cyprian saith, That Alms-giving is equivalent unto Baptism, for

* Et quia semel in baptismo remissa peccatorum datur assidua, & jugis operatio baptismi instar imitata, Dei rursus indulgentiam largitur———de Eleemos.

the Remission of Sins, and that the Way for Men to obtain Pardon for their daily Sins, is to do daily good Works. By Sins, he understands Sins of Ignorance, and Error, and sudden Surprize, by which the best Men are obnoxious to the Justice of God, if he should be severe to mark what they do amiss; and by Alms-giving, he doth not mean the *opus operatum*, or mere external Performance of the Duty, but such Alms-giving, as proceeds from pure Charity, and not from Vain-glory, or other By-ends, as it did in the Pharisees, who sounded Trumpets before them in the Synagogues, and in the Streets, when they gave Alms, that they might have Glory of Men, and therefore they had no Reward of God. This Pharisaical Humour, was, I believe, to be found among the Christians of the Church of *Corinth*, which made the Apostle say unto them; *Though I give all my Goods to feed the Poor, and have not Charity, it profiteth me nothing.* No! such Alms-giving profiteth nothing, nor hath any Title to the Promises of God, but Alms-giving proceeding, like good Fruit, from the Divine Root of Charity, justifieth Sinners, and maketh Atonement for Sins.

For Charity is a justifying Grace, as well as Faith, nay, Faith owes its justifying Virtue to Charity, and cannot justify a Sinner, by the Terms of the Gospel, unless it be such a Faith, as *worketh by Love.*

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This is the secret of all the forecited Authorities, about the atoning Virtue of Charity. It is so divine a Virtue, and doth so conform a Man after the Image of God, that for the sake of it, and of the good Works, which proceed from it, God will accept of honest, hearty, and sincere, for sinless, and unerring Obedience from the charitable Man, who is so like him in the most excellent of his Moral Perfections; I mean in his Goodness, which moved him to communicate, and let out his infinite Fulness, among an infinite variety of Creatures; and which, as the *Platonists* say, is the fundamental Attribute, or Root of his blessed Nature, and makes him to be God.

III. Having now shewed, that doing of Almshouses is a great Duty, and that the doing of them is very acceptable to God, and beneficial unto Men. I proceed in the Third Place to shew, that the Charitable Man, who performeth this Duty, shall notwithstanding have enough, and that his Charity shall never bring him, or his into want.

This partly appears, from what I have observed before out of the Scriptures, and other venerable Writings; and if we consult them further, we shall find, that employing our Money in Charitable Uses, is as profitable, as to put it out to Use. So saith *Solomon*, Eccl. II. 1. *Cast thy Bread upon the Waters*, i. e. among the poor Multitude, *for thou shalt find it after many Days*. And *Prov.* II. 25. *The liberal*

liberal Soul shall be made fat, and he that watereth, shall be watered himself. And to this Purpose speaks our Lord and Saviour, saying, Give, and it shall be given unto you, good Measure, pressed down, and shaken together, and running over shall Men give into your Bosom, for with the same Measure that you mete withal, it shall be measured to you again: So saith the Apostle to the Corinthians, He that soweth bountifully shall reap bountifully, for God loveth a chearful Giver, and is able to make all Grace, or Charity, abound towards you, that you, having All-sufficiency always, in all things, may abound to every good Work. And God, that administred Seed to the Sower thereof, will minister Bread to your Food, and multiply the Seed which you have sown, and increase the Fruits of your Bounty, which causeth through us, who dispense it among the Saints, Thanksgiving unto God. So saith the Son of Sirach, there is a Gift, meaning a Gift of Bribery, that shall not profit, and there is a Gift, meaning Gifts of Charity, whose Recompence is double. And in another Place he saith, Give unto the most High, according as he hath enriched thee; and as thou hast gotten, give with a chearful Eye, for the Lord recompenseth, and will give thee seven times as much.

Wherefore * Julian, in his Exhortation of the Pagans to Charity, challenges them to tell

* *Fragm.*

him of any one Man, that ever fell into want, through his Liberality to the Poor ; *For my own part (saith he) whatever I have given to the Poor, I have still received it of the Gods with manifold Interest, although I am one, that understand not the Art of getting Money ; for, not to mention my Royal Munificence, since I was Emperor, I ascribe it to my Charity, while I was a private Man, that my Grandmothers Inheritance, which had been unjustly kept from me, fell to me, because out of the little Pittance I had at first to live upon, I dispensed part unto the Poor.*

The Apostate still kept himself Orthodox in this Piece of Divinity, having so much of the Christian yet remaining in him, as to believe, that God is prompted by his Goodness to provide in a particular manner for Charitable Men ; according to what he must have often read, and heard in the Church of Nicomedia, where he was a Reader, *God is not unrighteous to forget your good Works, and the Charity which you have shewed towards his Name in ministring unto the Saints.*

Wherefore let me speak unto you, as St. Cyprian did upon the same Argument to the People of his Diocess ; *Do not fear that your Charity can beggar you, or that you can lose by the Money which you lend to Christ upon Use I do here promise, and engage, not of my self but upon the Faith of the holy Scriptures, and the*
Authority

Authority of God's Promises, it cannot; for the Holy Ghost hath said by the Mouth of Solomon: He that giveth to the Poor shall not lack. And, that the Lord will not suffer the liberal Soul to famish.

These Promises we also find verified by many Examples in the Scriptures, as when God fed *Elias* in the Wilderness, by the Ministry of a Raven; and prepared a Dinner for *Daniel* in the Lyons Den, where that Speech of King *David's* was literally fulfilled, when he said: *The Lyons do lack, and suffer Hunger, but they who seek the Lord, shall want nothing that is good.* So the Widow of *Sarepta* for a Morsel of Bread which she gave the Prophet, when she had not a whole Loaf for her self, was sustained with all her Family by a Miracle, *The Barrel of her Meal never wasting, nor her Cruse of Oyl failing, until the Famine was removed out of the Land.*

These Things, as the Apostle saith, were written for our Instruction, to shew us, that God will not falsify his Promises, but rather work Miracles than let those perish, who, trusting to them, relieved other Mens Wants. After so many Promises, and such Instances of the Fulfilling of them; *A doubting Heart* (saith that charitable Saint, *Cyprian*) *would become no Man, who belongs to the Household of Faith. No!* saith that Holy Father (* who

* *Vit. Cypr. per Pontium ejus Diaconum.*

sold a great Estate, and gave it to the Poor, before he was baptized) *doubting Thoughts in this Case are sacrilegious, and to want Faith in this Point, is to treat Christ like the Pharisees, who being covetous derided him, when he exhorted them to make themselves Friends of the false unconstant Mammon, and, by so doing, oblige God to commit unto them the true, and lasting Riches.*

I know, it is often objected against this Doctrine, that charitable Men, and their Children sometimes fall from Plenty into Poverty, and suffer as much by Want, as those who hardened their Hearts against the Poor.

To which I answer, That such Instances are rare, and seldom happen, but when Charitable Men suffer with others in common Judgments, when, as Heathen Apologists for God's Providence, have observed, God visiting a Nation, or a City, as *such*, must punish the Good with the Bad.

Secondly, Of those few Instances, which otherwise may be brought, it is doubtful, whether those esteemed Charitable Men, were really so, or no? For as there is an Art of appearing Rich, or Learned, when Men are not; so there is an Art of appearing Charitable; and of that small Number of Men reputed Charitable, who come to suffer Want, it may very well be presumed, that a great Part of them were such only, as had the Name,
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and Reputation of being Charitable, without being so indeed.

Thirdly, Of those that are really Charitable, really, I mean, as to the Eyes of Men, many do not, or cannot give aright; and so their Charity, though it be real, as to the material Performance of it, yet through other Defects it is false, and vitious, and not that true genuine Charity, which hath a Right unto the Promises of God. Such is the Charity of those Pharisees, who give to be seen of Men, and all extorted or disproportionable Charity, which is given too sparingly, and grudgingly, and doth not proceed from a Charitable, Free, and Compassionate Mind. Likewise the Charity of those, who give Almes to cover their Injustice, Extortion, and Oppression, and who foolishly think to satisfy God by their Almsgiving, before they have made Restitution unto Men. This is to offer unclean Beasts, and unhallowed Bread upon the Altar; to bring the Hire of a Whore, or the Price of a Dog into the House of the Lord, which are Abomination unto him; or, as *Malachy* speaks, *To cover the Altar of the Lord with Tears, with Weeping, and with Crying out*; for such Offerings are the Tears of Widows, and Bread of Orphans; and as *St. Basil* well observes *ἀσπαρῆ λογισμῶν*, they shall be imputed to the Giver, as if he had robbed a Man. *The Sacrifice of the Wicked (saith Solomon) is an Abomination to the Lord, especially when he bringeth*

it with a wicked Mind ; and he that sacrificeth of a Thing wrongfully gotten, saith Siracides, his Offering is ridiculous, and whoso bringeth an Offering of the Goods of the Poor, his Offering is not accepted, but he doth as one, who killeth the Son before his Fathers Eyes. Likewise the Charity of those, who live in Schism, and Communicate at private Altars, in Opposition to the Publick, is *ἄσπονδον ἄσπονδον* utterly unacceptable to God ; for where Charity is genuine, the Fruits of it will appear in a Love of Union, and in an Endeavour to *preserve the Unity of the Spirit*, or spiritual Union, *in the Bond of Peace*. But the Schism of the spiritual Corah, as * St. Cyprian observes, makes his Prayers to be no Prayers, his Sacraments no Sacraments, and his Almes by Consequence to be no Almes. “ Nay, he saith, though he were a “ Confessor greater than *Solomon*, and should “ suffer Death for Christ, yet he could not “ dye a Martyr, nor obtain a Crown of “ Martyrdom if he dyed in his Schism, as it is written, *Though I bestow all my Goods to feed the Poor, and give my Body to be burnt, and have not Charity, it profiteth me nothing*. Hither I may also refer the Charity of those, who, living in the Practice of any other known Sin, think to atone God by Almes-giving, and procure an easier Pardon, or perhaps an Indulgence from him by their *good Works*.

* *Passim in Tract. de unit. Eccles. Cathol.*

Thus many do, especially among the Papists, who, mistaking the Texts, which speak of the atoning Virtue of Charity, run into two Mistakes, First, that they Trust in the *opus operatum*, or bare Performance of Almes-doing. And Secondly, That they think to be justified by them from chosen and presumptuous, as well as from erroneous and surprizing Sins. In all these Cases, though Charity, as to the Matter is Real, yet as to the Manner of Giving, or Intention, and Incapacity of the Giver, it is not genuine, but altogether spurious, and hath no Title to any Reward from God.

But, Fourthly, there is one Case, where Charity being both real and genuine, the Charitable Man comes to great want, but not by his Charity, but for Want of Thrift, Frugality, and Temperance, being profuse and expensive in his Apparel, or Dyet, or Buildings, or Sports, or Furniture, or Entertainments; and in this Case, Men are often mistaken in the true Cause of the Charitable Man's Poyerty, attributing that to his Charity, which indeed ought to be ascribed to his foolish Prodigality, and Want of Prudence in managing his Estate.

In the Fifth Place, a Charitable Man, who is grown Rich by the special Blessing of God, may sometimes, like the good Man in the *Famous Parable of the Pilgrim, and Angel*, begin to grow covetous, and set his Heart

upon his Riches, which may oblige God in Kindness to him to blast his Estate, and reduce him to a low Condition, to secure the Salvation of his Soul. Or else, God may foresee, that if he should let him die Rich, his Children would abuse those Riches to Luxury, and Riot, and other sinful Excesses; and so out of his tender Fatherly care over *Him*, and *His*, may reduce them both to a poor Condition, wherein though they have not the greater Blessing of Giving, yet they shall have the lesser, to receive.

These and such like Solutions are a perfect Answer to the former Objection, and perfectly reconcile the Promises of God to Charity, and the Want, and Penury, to which They, or their Children are sometimes reduced, who are, or seem to be, Charitable Men. Wherefore let God and his Word be true, and every Man a Liar, and let none, who confesseth the Name of Jesus, question the Truth of so many Promises in the Old and New Testament, but rest upon this Principle, as a certain, and never-failing Truth, That the Charitable Man, notwithstanding his Charity, shall always have enough, and that God will take Care, that He and His shall never suffer by want.

Exhortation. Having now shewed, that doing of Alms is a great Duty, and that the doing of them is very acceptable to God, and beneficial unto Men; more-especially having shewn, that God will take Care, that the Charitable
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Man, shall, notwithstanding his Charity, always have enough ; I now proceed in the last Place, to exhort you to the Practice of this Duty, and if ever Exhortations to this Divine Duty were proper, and seasonable, they are at this time in this Nation, where Riches, and Property, by God's special Blessing, are met together, but more-especially in this City, *the Crowning, or Imperial City, whose Merchants, as the Prophet speaks, are Princes, and whose Traffickers, are the Honourable of the Earth.* Here it is, that Riches and Plenty abound, and therefore here it is, that Charity ought to Reign. The King hath done here, what *Solomon* did in *Jerusalem* ; by his Auspicious Reign, and Princely Care for Trade and Navigation, he hath *made Silver as plentiful as Stones*, not that Plate and Money is here, as common as Stones, any more, than it was in *Jerusalem*, but that there is enough of it in the Chests, and Coffers of the Rich, to make it, with the usual Liberty of Speaking, as common, as the Stones in the Streets.

Therefore to you, who have it in so great abundance, and such ample Revenues issuing from your Lands, or Trade ; to you, who have gotten Riches by God's Blessing ; and to you, who, by God's Blessing too, have Riches, which you never got ; to you all, who any ways possess Estates by Gift, Inheritance, or Purchase, by your own Sweat, or by the Sweat of your Ancestors, in the Change, or

in the Shop, in the Court, or in the Camp, on the Bench, or at the Bar; to you all, and every one of you, I indifferently address my self in the Words of the Son of *Sirach*, *Give unto the most High, according as he hath enriched thee, and, as thou hast gotten, give with a chearful Mind.*

Remember, I beseech you, that Charity is not an Arbitrary thing, which may be done, or left undone at Discretion, (as too many think) but a necessary Duty incumbent upon all Rich Men, who have a manifold Obligation to make Provision for the Poor, resulting from the common Nature, and Original of Mankind; from the Nature of Humane Societies, whereof the Poor are Members with the Rich; and from the Trust, which God hath reposed in the former, as his Stewards to supply the Necessities of the latter. Hence it comes to pass, that the Word for *Charity*, and *Charitable* in the Old Testament, and in the Language, which our Lord spoke, signifies *Righteousness*, and *Righteous*, to let us understand, that Almes-deeds is a Debt, which we owe to God, and to the Poor.

As for God, consider what it is he requires of thee for his Poor; a Bullock out of thine Herd, a Shock or two out of thy Harvest, a small Quit-rent for the great Estate thou holdest of him, a little Tribute, the Tenth, or Twelfth, or at least the Twentieth Part of all thy just Gains, and Revenues, and this, as thou

thou hast heard, will be kindly taken of him, and oblige him to bless thee and thine the more.

Wherefore plead not the Number of thy Children against the Duty of Charity, as the *Men of this World* are wont to do, say not in thy Heart to the Poor, as the Wise said unto the Foolish Virgins in the Parable, *We have not enough for us and you*; but remember *Job*, who had Ten Children, Seven Sons, and Three Daughters, and yet his Charity was so great, that, as we read in the 29th. Chapter, *He was a Father to the Poor, Eyes to the Blind, and Feet to the Lamé*. And besides his great Expences upon this Account, as *Cyprian* well observes, in answer to this unworthy Plea, he daily offered up Burnt-Offerings according to the Number of his Children; and therefore, if thou wouldest have God bless thy numerous Offspring, the Pledges of his Love which he hath given thee, oblige him to take care of them, by thy daily Oblations, by setting something aside of thy daily income for Charitable Uses, for such are the Sacrifices under the Gospel, and *with such Sacrifices God is well pleased*. I am very confident, that one great cause of the usual Infelicities which attend those the World calls *Great Fortunes*, is to be ascribed to the Worldly-mindedness of their Progenitors, who, as they increased in Wealth, did not increase in Charity, never considering, that he *that hath Mercy on the Poor, honoureth his Maker, and he*

that giveth Alms, sacrificeth Praise. There is, saith Solomon, that with-holdeth more than is meet, but it tendeth to Poverty : Which I desire those to consider, who neither living nor dying will spare one out of Ten, or Twenty Thousand Pounds to Charitable Uses from their Children, it may be but from one Child ; who by that Means comes to Inherit the unsanctified Riches of his Father without the Blessing of God.

But more-especially, I desire those to consider the great Obligation which lies upon them to do good Works, *Who heap up Riches, and cannot tell who shall gather them.* I mean those to whom God hath given great Estates, and no Children, and among them, more-especially, such as have no reasonable Hopes of Issue, having *dead Bodies*, as the Apostle said of *Abraham*, and who perhaps are yet unresolved, who shall inherit after them, the next of Blood, as *Heir at Law*, or it may be a Stranger, whom they do not yet know, as *Testamentary Heir*.

God seems by his special Bounty and Providence to call and invite these Men above all others, to give their Estates to Charitable Uses, as to Found or Endow Hospitals for the Nurture of exposed Infants ; or the ingenuous Education of poor Orphans ; or the Reception and Cure of Sick, Maimed, or Wounded Persons ; or for the Maintenance and Consolation of the Incurable and Aged ; or for the Government of poor Lunaticks and Distracted Persons ; or for
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the Correction of vagrant, sturdy, and idle Beggars; to whom it is an abuse of Charity to give, because, as St. *Basil* observes in his Discourse of Alms-giving, *We shall minister by our Alms, not to their Necessities, but to their Idleness and Lusts.*

To these I ought to add the Erection of Work-Houses, which are yet wanting in this great City, to compleat the Oeconomy of her Hospitals: And because there are different Inclinations among Charitable Men to different sorts of Charity, give me leave to recommend unto you the Endowment of poor Vicaridges, and Erecting of Hospitals for poor Clergymens Widows, which would atone God in a great Measure for the Sacrilege of former Ages, for which, among other Causes of his Displeasure, I verily believe these three Nations do yet smart.

I will also put you in Mind of establishing a Fund for Endowing of poor Maids, who have lived so many Years in Service, and of building Schools, or Colleges for the Education of young Women, much like unto those in the Universities, for the Education of young Men, but with some Alteration in the Discipline and Oeconomy, as the Nature of such an Institution would require.

Such Colleges might be so ordered, as to become Security to your Daughters against all the Hazards to which they are exposed at private Schools, and likewise a Security to the Govern-

Government, that the Daughters of the Land should be bred up according to the Religion now establish'd in it, to the unconceivable Advantage of the Publick, in rooting out *Enthusiasm*, with her Daughter *Schism*, both which are upheld by nothing among us so much, as by the Women, who are so silly and deceivable for want of Ingenious and Orthodox Education, and not for want of Parts. Methinks the Rich and Honourable Ladies of the Church of *England*, the *Elect Ladies* of her Apostolical Communion, should be Zealous to begin, and carry on such a Work as this; which upon more Accounts than I have mentioned, would make the Daughters of *Israel* be glad, and the Daughters of *Judah* and *Jerusalem* rejoice.

Hitherto I have spoken to the Rich of the first and second Rank, not to excuse those who have the good Things of this World in a less proportion, but because they are not of Ability to do Works of standing and perpetual Charity, as the others are. However God accepts his *Quota* of every one of them, *For the Administration of his Service, according to what he hath, and not according to what he hath not.*

If thou canst not spare a Talent, thou canst spare a Pound to a Work of Charity, or if thou canst not spare a Pound, thou canst spare a Crown, or a Shilling, or, as the poor Widow, who ought to be mentioned where-ever the Gospel is preached, a Penny, or a Mite.

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If thou canst not found a Church, or an House of Charity, thou canst Contribute to the building or repairing of it; thou canst spare a Gift now and then to a poor House-keeper, or to a poor Debtor to set him out of Prison; or thou canst Present a poor Minister, who is a Man of Parts and Piety, and yet sits privately Mourning in his Study for want of necessary Books. To these good Ends and Purposes, thou mayest erect a private Bank for Charity out of thy own Frugality and Temperance, and make thy Back and Belly give Almes, if thou hast not a Mind to set aside a part of thy ordinary Gains for good Works. But if thou art Perfect, thou wilt do this, that is to say, If thou hast tender Bowels of Compassion, as thy Saviour had, *Who said, It was more blessed to give than to receive.*

This is thy Duty, and if thou shalt do it with a chearful Heart, *Blessed shalt thou be in the City, and blessed shalt thou be in the Field. Blessed shall be the Fruit of thy Body, the Fruit of thy Ground, the Fruit of thy Cattel, the increase of thy Kine, and the Flocks of thy Sheep. The Lord shall command a Blessing upon thy Store-houses, make thee plenteous in Goods, and bless thee in all that thou settest thine Hand unto.*

To conclude the whole matter, Charity is the most speedy and effectual Means to reconcile God to a Church, or Nation, as well as to a single Man. It is a most Divine Virtue, which will oblige God to dwell among us, and
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shelter us under the Wings of his Divine Majesty. It will make him become unto us a Cloud by Day, and a Pillar of Fire by Night, it will make him fight our Battles, and scatter our Enemies, and be as a Wall of Brasse round about us. It will make him lengthen the Days of our Gracious King, and preserve him against all Conspiracies. It will keep our Cities from Fire and Plague, our Fields from Mildews and Blastings, our Ships from Wrack, our Religion from Popery, and Enthusiasm, the Government from Usurpation, and our Purses and Estates from Arbitrary Power.

In a Word, It will help us all to an happy and glorious *Resurrection*, and to appear with Joy and Comfort at the Day of Judgment, when, standing at the Right Hand of our Lord, we shall hear him say unto us ; *Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the Kingdom prepared for you from the Foundation of the World. For I was hungry, and you gave me Meat, I was thirsty, and you gave me Drink, I was a Stranger, and ye took me in, naked I was, and ye clothed me, I was sick, and you visited me, I was in Prison, and you came unto me, to pay my Debts and set me free. All this you did for my sake, to my poor Members, whom you always had with you; And in as much as you did it unto them, ye did unto me.*

Thus

Thus much for the general Exhortation unto the great Duty of Charity; I shall conclude it with another more particular, which for your further Encouragement, I was desired by the Governours of the Hospitals to read.

A True REPORT, &c.

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